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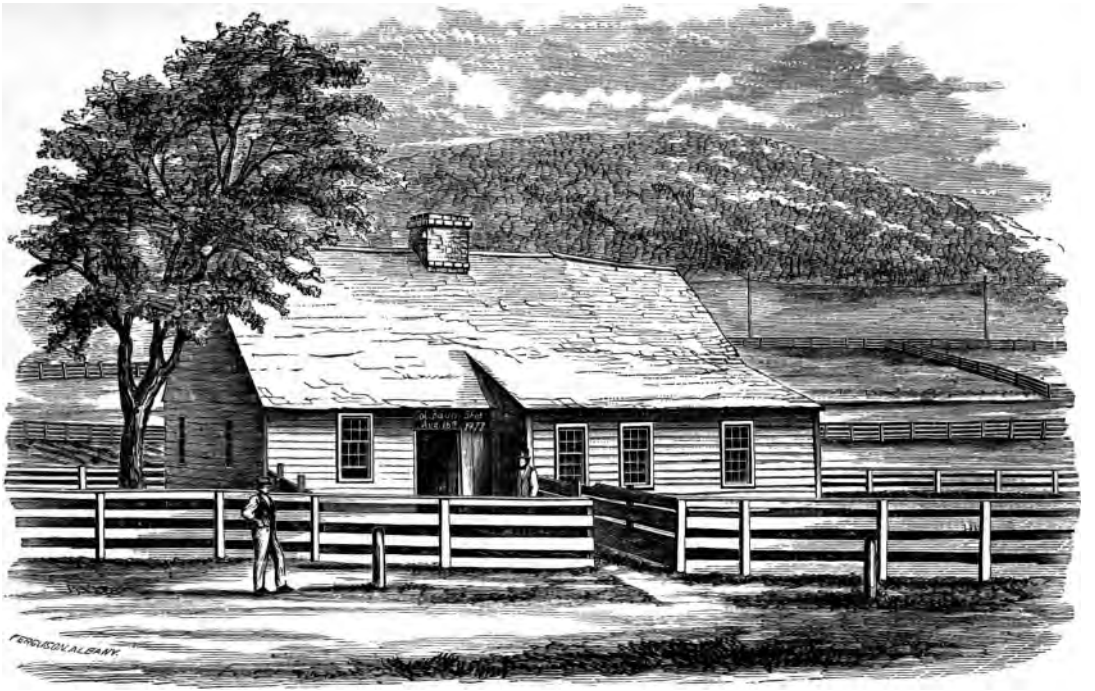

The House in which Col. Baum died, 16 Aug., 1777. Built by D. Matthews, and taken down 1861.

MEMOIRS,

AND

LETTERS AND JOURNALS,

OF

MAJOR GENERAL RIEDESEL,

DURING HIS

RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN OF MAX VON EELKING.

BY

WILLIAM L. STONE,

AUTHOR OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.;
LIFE AND WRITINGS OF COL. WILLIAM L. STONE, ETC., ETC.

VOL. II.

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SKETCH OF MAJ. GEN. RIEDESEL.

1778.

The poorest prospects were now in store for the German troops; for who would take their part under their present circumstances, so far away from their own land? It was evident that congress had broken the treaty. The English government could not consistently enter into direct negotiations with congress, as it was unwilling to acknowledge its authority; and, consequently, no way could be seen out of the difficulties under which the prisoners suffered. It might reasonably be expected that if any favors were shown by congress to the troops, it would be to the English who had hitherto been treated better than the Germans, a fact of which the latter were well aware. Their difficulties were furthermore increased by the repeated disputes between the prisoners and the Americans by whom they were guarded. Each party vied in irritating the other, the former being instigated by hatred towards those who endeavored to assume the appearance of soldiers, a course which only made them ridiculous as they were anything but soldiers, and the latter by arrogance and a desire of being revenged upon those whom they knew to be their superiors in military matters. These quarrels, moreover, occurred almost daily, notwithstanding the strictest orders of the commanders that their men not only should hold no intercourse with the Americans, but should not even speak to them. These orders were issued so that there might not be the slightest pretext for a quarrel. In consequence of General Burgoyne's request, some of the English officers had been already exchanged, but none of the Germans.

General Riedesel, accordingly, thought it best at this time to appeal to General Howe. He, therefore, wrote to him as follows:

"CAMBRIDGE, *January* 7, 1778.

"Your excellency will permit me to solicit your protection and assistance on behalf of the German officers who were captured during the last campaign. In consequence of a request on the part of General Burgoyne, General Gates has exchanged a number of British officers at Albany; but, on being asked to exchange, also, a corresponding number of German officers, he answered that he could not agree to an exchange of German troops without special orders from congress. This answer gives to a rumor, now current in this province, the appearance of truth, that congress has resolved to exchange none of the German officers who were captured. Such a resolution, if true, will make our situation a sad and humiliating one, especially since we are thus deprived of the same advantages which have been accorded the other troops, and which are customary in war among those serving the same cause, the same master and with the same diligence, which latter fact has been publicly declared by General Burgoyne.

"Perfectly convinced of your justice and fairness, I take the liberty of addressing you and of praying you, that, as the commander in chief of the army in America, you will exert your influence in our behalf to bring about an exchange of captured German officers with General Washington, equal in amount to the number of English officers who were exchanged by General Gates. I have the honor of inclosing a list of the German officers captured during the last campaign, and would recommend to your especial protection Lieutenant Colonel Specht, Captain Fricke, Captain Geisau, Lieutenant Gebhardt, Lieutenant Breva and Captain O'Connell, my adjutant.

"I remain, etc.,

"RIEDESEL, Major General."

General Riedesel took special pains to preserve his right of jurisdiction over his troops, and thus avoid giving any cause to the Americans for taking it from him. For this purpose the preservation of discipline was particularly necessary; but this was by no means an easy matter under existing circumstances. Owing to want of employment, the soldiers were more than ever inclined to insubordination. For the purpose of correcting this state of things, the first thing the German general did was to detach from each regiment, a guard, consisting of one non-commissioned officer and sixteen privates, under the command of a lieutenant. It was their express duty to see that quiet and order were observed. A staff officer, as officer of the day, had these guards under his supervision. Everything had to be reported to him. He was empowered to settle difficulties between the soldiers and provincials on the spot. General Riedesel, himself, drew up the necessary instructions, and a severe penalty was inflicted upon those who endeavored to thwart them

These prudent measures soon produced good results. In the first place difficulties were thus nipped in the bud, and had, therefore, no chance to grow larger; and, secondly, the provincials saw that nothing which the prisoners did deserving punishment, was overlooked. The benefit, also, arising from the guard system was soon seen in the men being easier kept together, and desertions becoming less frequent. The better, also, to give his men employment and thus keep up discipline, Riedesel obliged them to drill every day in divisions, when the weather allowed it. Not having any arms, they could only go through the evolutions of marching; but this, besides giving employment to the men, kept them proficient in this kind of drill.

All officers, and those who bore the rank of officers, were permitted to retain their side arms. General Heath even directed, in an order issued January 7th, that these arms should be constantly carried whenever the officers went beyond the outposts. This was done to obviate the necessity of their show-

ing their passes to the provincials who otherwise were required to insist upon seeing all passes.

On Winter hill it was not as quiet as on Prospect hill. At the former place excesses grew more and more frequent. The Americans did not send those of the English whom they arrested, back to their quarters, as was their custom with the Germans, but dragged them either to the guard house or the guard ships. The following instance will serve to show the extent to which mutual ill feeling had grown:

On the 8th of January, the American Colonel Hawley, with his men, was on guard behind the barracks on Prospect hill. In front of one of the barracks stood eight English soldiers belonging to the 9th Regiment. They were engaged in conversation, when suddenly the above mentioned colonel ran in among them with a drawn dagger like a maniac, and in an instant mortally wounded two of the group. The cause, if any, that led him to commit this outrageous act has ever remained a secret. The indignation and bitter feeling of the English toward their jailors were increased by this event to the highest pitch; and General Burgoyne, in an energetic letter, demanded of General Heath the arrest of Colonel Hawley and a strict investigation.

Colonel Hawley was publicly tried on the 20th of January, in the meeting house at Cambridge. Brigadier General Glover presided. All the English and German generals, also many officers of both sides, and a great number of civilians, were present. General Burgoyne, personally appearing as plaintiff, made the complaint in a strong and masterly speech which gained him the admiration of all present. With the close of this speech, the proceedings terminated for the day. On the 1st of February, Colonel Hawley was again arraigned before the same tribunal. The room was filled, and many witnesses were present, forty of whom were examined. The investigation lasted for twenty sessions, and occupied an entire month. The Americans themselves, considered Colonel Hawley lost; but

their indignation was greatly increased against General Burgoyne for carrying the matter, as they thought, too far; and his soldiers consequently suffered from it. The press published impudent lampoons and scornful poetry against the English general, thereby endeavoring to create sympathy for the American colonel. Finally, on the 25th of February, he was brought before a court martial; and it will scarcely be credited that this court martial, consisting only of officers, CLEARED HIM. Nor was this all; for in order to crown American wantonness and offend General Burgoyne and all the English, yet more, General Heath appointed this *noble* colonel commander of Cambridge, and consequently of the two hills also! Colonel Lee, who had hitherto filled this position, being absent.

These occurrences had the effect of putting General Riedesel still more on his guard and preventing his troops from committing excesses, if he and they would preserve their independence as much as possible. Accordingly, he issued the following circular to his troops:

"Experience daily shows that the provincials on Prospect hill,[1] are depriving the regiments of their just rights, and are not permitting them to preserve their own jurisdiction as they agreed. They enter into their barracks, and, by force, either arrest soldiers and carry them to the guard ships, keeping them there from eight to fourteen days, without giving to their respective commanders the least notice, or even the reasons why the soldiers have been arrested. The cause of this unjust treatment must either originate in the fact that, at the beginning, when the soldiers had difficulties with the provincials, there was on the English side no prompt or sufficient satisfaction given, or that hard words and actions have embittered the provincials to such an extent, that they now do not keep the promises to which the treaty had bound them; and, consequently,

[1] It must be kept in mind that the English were quartered on Prospect and the Germans on *Winter hill.*

they are endeavoring by these harsh proceedings to humble them.

"It is altogether different with the German troops on Winter hill. The provincials let our people and their barracks alone; and in case the latter have difficulties with the former, and are arrested, they are delivered up to our post; those in charge of them being generally satisfied with a slight punishment. Now what is the cause of this honorable difference in the way in which our men are treated? Nothing but good discipline on our side, and praise-worthy vigilance of the staff officers to give prompt satisfaction to the offended party. This I thankfully acknowledge. We must endeavor to preserve this authority and jurisdiction. We cannot do it by force, for we are under constant surveillance. Politeness, modesty and prompt satisfaction are the only means by which we can maintain our prerogative. *The very first time* that we have the misfortune to cause them to be dissatisfied with us and with our jurisdiction; and the very *first time* that they send a prisoner to the guard ship, or refuse to surrender him to us, *then* our exemption is forever lost, and henceforth, they will treat us in the same manner as they now treat the English.

"In order, however, to avoid even the possibility of this contingency, all communication between our troops and the provincials must be avoided. The men must be modest, though not cringing, toward the provincials. In case a soldier insults a provincial, or is arrested by one of them in consequence of a misdemeanor, the fact is to be reported to the staff officer of the day, and it shall be his duty to do all in his power to have the offender returned to us, promising prompt satisfaction. If the offense is of such a nature that it can be punished without a hearing, then the punishment shall be inflicted in presence of the offended party; and the penalty shall be such as will satisfy the aggrieved. In short, it is the design to have all such cases settled *at once*, and during the first excitement.

"As I refrain from having any jurisdiction over the regiment

of Hesse Hanau, it will entirely depend upon the commander of that regiment to inflict the punishment usual with that regiment, and as shall be ordered by Brigadier General Von Gall. This noninterference, however, is based on the supposition that the misdemeanor is of such a nature that the offended party is satisfied, and we are not put to the inconvenience of being refused at a subsequent time when we ask for the surrender of a prisoner. The manner of punishment must be reported to the officer of the day, that he may be enabled to report the case and its results to me.

"But if against all our expectations, theft or marauding take place, then the returning of, or paying for, such property shall constitute the first proceeding, and the investigation and punishment the second. In such a case extra pains should be taken to have the prisoner returned to us, because, according to the laws of this land, as well as of those of England, a thief must be tried before a civil authority and punished by it. What a disgrace it would be if, contrary to our rights and prerogative, a German soldier should be brought before a civil magistrate and tried by him.

"In order to rectify mistakes and preserve our jurisdiction to the end, I hereby publish this lengthy order, firmly believing that each commander will continue to enforce it in every respect.

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Cambridge, February 16, 1778."

Congress, by this time, had thrown off all disguise in regard to the treaty. The same tone was also held by the official newspapers of North America, published toward the latter end of March, viz: that congress had resolved to have nothing to do with the treaty of Saratoga. Those prisoners, who had not hitherto given up all hope of a speedy release, were now the first to give up. Accordingly, desertions became more and more frequent. This was, however, more the case with the English

than the Germans; yet even the latter had lost by it, during the last month, five men.

As early as January, General Riedesel had appealed to General Washington in regard to the exchange of officers. At the end of March, the latter answered him as follows:

"HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, *March* 31, 1778.

"Sir: It is sometime since I was honored by your letter, dated January 11th. I would have replied sooner, had I not been obliged to wait for an answer from General Gates in regard to the matter contained in your favor. He says you never applied directly to him for the exchange of yourself or any German officers, nor for that of your family or corps; but that it was currently reported at Albany that you and Major General Phillips had addressed yourselves to Sir William Howe to be exchanged for General Lee, and had been answered, that as General Prescott had first been taken, he must be first exchanged. By your letter, I should judge that General Gates has misunderstood you, as he says, that he has no objection to an exchange of foreign as well as British officers.

"My commissioners are at present negotiating with the commissioners of General Howe for a general exchange of prisoners. If these shall agree in regard to the conditions, I shall not at all object to an exchange of a part of the foreign as well as British officers. But you will please take notice that this is a case which solely depends upon Sir William Howe's pleasure, as he has a right to demand such officers as he thinks proper for an equal number of equal rank; but I anticipate that justice toward his allies will constitute the foundation of an impartial exchange.

"I have the honor to be
"Your most obedient servant,
"WASHINGTON."

A few of the English officers still retained a few guns and

pistols. By the time that this rumor reached General Heath, it had gained so rapidly that it was said that five hundred guns and a large quantity of other arms were hidden in General Burgoyne's house and the barracks. That American general, being not a little scared at it, at once ordered a strict search in the two camps in which Colonel Hawley commanded. But after the house of General Burgoyne and each of the barracks had been thoroughly searched, and only a few guns and pistols were found, the rumor was discovered to be false, and the arms were, accordingly, restored to Burgoyne, with the advice to keep them in his own house. It was generally thought that Colonel Hawley would act overbearingly on this occasion; but to every one's surprise he acted, on the contrary, in a very friendly and obliging manner. His course, however, was not dictated by real good will, but from the simple reason that he feared his person would be attacked by the incensed Englishmen.

A commissioner, by the name of Masserow, had been sent by congress to Cambridge, for the purpose of witnessing the proceedings and reporting them. It was in the power of this man to exercise a very decided influence, either for weal or woe, upon the troops. Much, therefore, depended upon his favor or disfavor. The prudent General Riedesel soon read the character and learned the circumstances of this man. He was poor and avaricious; and was, therefore, desirous of making as much as possible out of his position in order to fill his empty purse. In addition to this, Riedesel learned that he had accepted presents from the English. He, therefore, did not hesitate to practice the same thing, although he detested the employment of such means to accomplish a purpose. But in this instance, the welfare of his men was at stake; and he did not wish to leave anything untried in bringing that about. He, accordingly, sent the commissioner thirty guineas, which were gladly accepted by the latter. This sum was placed to the account of the troops, and afterward deducted from their pay according to their grade. It was entered in the following manner:

"*Douceur to the commissioner of the provincials, ordered by General Riedesel.*" General Riedesel did not wish the name of the commissioner to be mentioned, that the man might not be compromised.

The good result was soon evident. The English officers also endeavored to avail themselves of the corruptibility of this man. They felt their situation to be worse than that of the Germans, inasmuch as they were more accustomed to various comforts and recreations. Consequently, they attended to their exchange, each on his own hook, and waited upon the commissioner unknown to Burgoyne. For every one that he recommended to congress, the commissioner charged from fifty to one hundred guineas; and, as a matter of course, did a good business. It seems, moreover, very likely that Burgoyne used this man's influence in his own behalf; for, notwithstanding, he was greatly out of health, and, notwithstanding, also, he had the permission of congress to return to England, the fulfillment of this promise was constantly delayed. Finally, however, on the 18th of March, congress granted him permission to depart, but only on the condition that the sum of 40,000 thalers should be paid, which sum was charged for the maintenance of the army up to that time. As there was no money, it was paid in provisions; General Howe sending ships from Rhode island laden with flour and meat. By the Americans, this was more desired than money; for they needed money less than provisions, as they could easily get along with their paper currency.

General Riedesel, through Commissioner Masserow, petitioned congress for permission to send to Canada for the baggage and clothing of his troops. This was granted; and the condition of the men henceforward was consequently much improved.

The American newspapers, at this time, announced, with much parade, the alliance with France, and the recognition of the United States by Spain. But the immense armaments of England, by sea and land, put forth in a great effort to recover her revolted colonies, again poured wormwood into their cup of joy.

Under Admirals Keppel and Byron, two fleets were equiped; and according to rumor, eighteen hundred men were to be sent out to America as reenforcements. Arrangements were now made to send the captured troops to the southern provinces, and to distribute them into the interior of the country, as it was considered dangerous, under the present aspect of affairs, to keep them together near the coast. The militia and the Continental troops were, therefore, increased. The province of Massachusetts bay, furnished for this purpose, three regiments, Colonels Lee, Jackson and Hawley receiving command of them. The light horse and artillery were, also, increased. The main recruiting stations were in the villages near the prisoners, viz: at Boston, Cambridge, Medford, Mystic, Manatomie and Watertown. These places were not selected without a cause. They were chosen with the object of more easily inducing the prisoners to desert. This plan was well laid as will soon be seen. Certain individuals carried on a regular trade with the English and German soldiers, very easily inducing the latter to leave their camp under the ostensible plea of hiring them to do their spring work for which they were to be well paid and boarded. But no sooner were they in the power of the Americans, than the latter told them that they were their prisoners, and sold them to the recruiting officers for from two to three hundred thalers. Many a one thus misled, led a miserable existence, from which they were only relieved by death. The American outposts for the purpose of aiding the desertions, suffered the men to go beyond the chain whenever they desired to do so. Indeed, they even went so far as to hold out by false representations, every inducement to the soldiers to desert,[1] whenever the latter, contrary to orders, spoke with them. The Brunswick commanders, however, could not complain of desertion during this month; for only three soldiers proved untrue to

[1] Up to April 5th, six hundred and fifty-five of the English had deserted, of the Germans, one hundred and nineteen men, and of the Hesse Hanau, forty-one men. Total eight hundred and fifteen men.— *Note to original.*

their oaths, while the English, since the 17th of October, lost six hundred and fifty men.

On the 5th of April, General Burgoyne left Rhode island to return to England. The day previous to his departure he took an affectionate farewell of the army, thanking them warmly for their good conduct and bravery. Before his embarkation he handed General Riedesel a letter addressed to the duke of Brunswick, in which he bestowed special praise upon the troops of the latter, and stated that he considered himself most fortunate in having had them under his command. This deserved tribute came too late; but it seems that misfortune had made the general more just in his views than in time past. General Riedesel, in consequence of this, issued to his troops the following circular:

"General Burgoyne has commissioned General Riedesel to return his thanks to all the Brunswick troops for the bravery, good will, discipline and subordination which they have shown during the last campaign, and during the time that they have been under his command. He has also directed General Riedesel to tell them that he regrets to leave these brave troops, and that he will not fail to bear the same testimony before his king as soon as he arrives in England, as the greatest share of credit is due to the commanders of the regiments and the officers, he tenders them, in an especial manner, his greatest thanks, and will be happy, if an occasion presents itself, to show them his friendship and esteem.

"General Burgoyne has also written to his most serene highness, the duke, our most kind lord, a letter, in which he speaks in the highest terms of praise of the troops, and states that he considers himself happy in having had such brave troops under his command.

"I was desirous of publishing this compliment of the general to all the troops; and I here express the great joy which I experience in having the honor of commanding such troops who thus cause and merit such universal satisfaction.

"Letters received from England cannot describe the honor, glory and satisfaction which is expressed toward the army of General Burgoyne, notwithstanding the sad situation in which it was placed by the superior numbers of the enemy. Each soldier may, therefore, rest assured that he can return to his country with the greatest honor. And what joy will it be when I can surrender these brave men to my gracious sovereign, and be able to report to him the good behavior of this excellent corps. Neither misery, nor want, nor frost, nor heat can be hard or severe enough to prevent us from being constant in view of the honorable and glorious prospect we have before us.

"But with what pain must I not see that every little while men leave their regiments and their officers, with the idea of having an easier and better life than their comrades, and that only for a few months, committing, therefore, perjury against their God, their sovereign, myself and their officers; and losing, moreover, the glory and honor and gratitude which otherwise would await them in their homes. Which is better, to be false now and desert, and, after the war, be a slave, or to live here with the officers and soldiers for a short time in misery, and return afterward as an honored and brave soldier to his own people, and be able in peace and quiet to recall one's good actions?

"I therefore, exhort all the brave soldiers, considering them my comrades, and loving them as my children, to reflect and act as becomes a good soldier, and give up all thoughts of desertion; and should there be evil disposed men in the corps, I hereby admonish all the good ones to keep a vigilant eye on these, in order that the already achieved glory of the whole corps may not be dimmed by such shameful desertions.

"I hereby declare that I am resolved to live and die with these brave troops, to share with them manfully, prosperity and adversity, misery and sorrow; and, furthermore, that I shall never accept an opportunity of being exchanged, even if it should be offered to me, unless it be in obedience to the command of my sovereign; but, on the contrary, to remain here

until I have the good fortune to take these brave soldiers with me, and share with them at home the honor which we have gained here in the midst of misfortune.

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Cambridge, April 4, 1778."

This order was read to each battalion at the evening parade.

Riedesel gave to the adjutant general of Burgoyne, Major Kingston, several dispatches and letters to his sovereign and others in Europe.[1]

Up to this time not a single German officer had been exchanged. However, two English lieutenant colonels, Amstruther and Southerland were permitted to go on parole to Rhode island, that they might the better arrange with General Howe for their exchange. General Phillips, together with the staff officers of Burgoyne, had already been exchanged. Phillips, who, after the departure of Burgoyne, had the apparent command over the captured troops, although an honorable man and friendly to Riedesel, had not a particle of influence as far as regarded the exchange of prisoners; the commander in chief, Howe, having this under his special charge. Riedesel bitterly complained to the latter of the course which things had lately taken; whereupon he promised to observe the strictest impartiality in the exchange of the troops of both nations. This last remark, it must here be understood, refers only up to the present date of the captivity. Henceforth General Phillips issued proper orders to his troops to do nothing toward effecting their exchange, without obtaining his consent.

The inactivity of camp life among the Germans, besides increasing desertion, augmented another evil, viz: the passion for gambling. The following order of General Riedesel, upon this subject, explains itself:

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[1] General Riedesel gave all the letters to the adjutant general, unsealed, believing that all papers would be inspected at Boston. He, therefore, ordered Major Kingston to seal them in Rhode island.— *Note to original.*

"ORDER OF APRIL 11, 1778.

"I am perfectly willing to allow all innocent amusements that the troops may choose to provide for themselves, for the purpose of passing away the time in the present inactive situation. One of these enjoyments is the game of ten pins, which benefits the body by the exercise of the muscles in a particular manner. But I am grieved to learn that the common soldiers play for piasters and even for guineas; for the result of this is, that men, who have saved a little, lose it at once; others again, run in debt, and after losing their money and fearing to get into difficulty with their creditors, desert, thus entering into perpetual slavery. General Riedesel is so well informed in regard to this state of things, that he is well acquainted with the fact that one soldier, last week, lost nine guineas in one day, and then deserted.

"General Riedesel does not prohibit playing at ten pins, but he does not wish his men to play for money; indeed, this, in the common soldier, is already forbidden in the 'regulations.' The commanders of battalions will, therefore, issue strict orders prohibiting playing at ten pins for money, and the officers are hereby enjoined to watch those of the company who shall disobey this order. It shall, also, be announced to the different companies, that those who have lost piasters and guineas, are at once to report it, when the commanders are to see that the money lost is returned. Those, who in future shall be caught playing for money, will be severely punished.

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Cambridge, April 11, 1778."

On the 11th of April, General Phillips received intelligence from the governor at Boston, that congress had resolved to send the English troops into a section of country lying within the province of Massachusetts bay. Accordingly, on the 15th, the English artillery and light infantry, together with a detach-

ment of the 33d Regiment as belonging to the artillery and the army of General Howe, marched to Rutland, where some barracks had been erected in great haste.

After the departure of the English troops, the recruiting officers at Boston carried on their business almost exclusively among the Germans. The generality of these recruiting officers were good for nothing Germans, who, by all kinds of representations, induced their countrymen to become renegades to their duty. This state of things, moreover, was increased by the fact that a French adventurer, named Armand, who was tolerably familiar with the German language, intended to raise a light corps. This man, aided by the garrulity and frivolity peculiar to his nation, did his best to convince the good natured and credulous German of the happiness of a volunteer who should serve under him. The provincials, also, whose duty it was to watch the German soldiers, furthered desertion in every possible way; and, as a consequence, the recruiting officers grew more bold and impudent every day. They would not allow either officers or noncommissioned officers to pursue runaways across the chain. Yea, some of these who endeavored to perform their duty in this particular, were grossly insulted. General Riedesel used all the means in his power to stop this evil. For instance, he had several provincials, who had crept into the barracks of the soldiers, and endeavored by the use of liquor, to induce the men to desert, kicked out and forbidden, henceforth, from entering the camp; certainly a queer fact, for prisoners to treat their overseers in such a manner! Riedesel, also, offered a full pardon to such as would voluntarily return; and the result was that several of the deserters, finding themselves terribly deceived, came back, bringing with them a frightful description of the misery they had endured in following their wanton inclination. Riedesel did not omit, at the roll-call, to have such step in front and exhibit them to the soldiers as striking examples of the result of desertion. Yet, it must be admitted on the other side, that the wages given by the inhabitants offered a strong inducement to

desertion. Accordingly, to counteract this last powerful stimulus, Riedesel agreed with General Heath to give the farmers of the neighboring villages men who, while working for them, should be provided with passes, and report once a week, on Thursday, at roll-call. In this way, the troops could earn something, and have a pleasant change without being unfaithful to their country. This arrangement was henceforth kept up and proved very good. During the month of April, forty-five men deserted from the Brunswick regiments.

Desertion, which, among the German troops, might be called moderate considering the circumstances, suddenly, toward the end of May, increased to such an extent, that sometimes six men ran away in one day. The cause of such an extraordinary state of things was soon ascertained. It seems that emissaries had circulated a printed handbill in German and English among the soldiers, in which the rewards to be obtained by desertion were set out in the most enticing light. This peculiar proclamation, so unique of its kind, and a real offspring of revolution, which is always very liberal in promises to the credulous, is here given as illustrating the manner in which good soldiers were entrapped:

"Done in Congress, *April* 9, 1778.

"*To those officers and soldiers in the service of the king of Great Britain who are not the subjects of the above named king:*

"The sons of freedom of the United States are carrying on a just and necessary war, in which they are not the only interested persons. They are fighting for the rights of mankind, and deserve, therefore, the protection and the aid of all men. Their success will procure for those, who desire to satisfy their consciences and enjoy the fruits of their labor, an asylum against persecution and tyranny.

"There is no doubt that a kind providence which often works good out of apparent evil (having, for instance, permitted us to be engaged in this cruel war, and having forced you to

assist our enemies in the vain attempt to enslave us) designs establishing perfect liberty on this continent for all those that are bowed down by the heavy yoke of tyranny. In consideration of your being forced against your will to become the tools of avarice and ambition, we will not only forgive you for those acts against us into which you have been forced, but will, also, offer you a part in the prerogatives of free and independent states. Great and fertile countries, which will richly repay your industry, invite you. Tracts of from twenty to thirty thousand acres of land will be apportioned and given to such as shall come over to our side in the following manner:

"Each captain, who will bring to us on the 1st of September, 1778, forty men from the service of the enemy shall receive eight hundred acres of good woodland, four oxen, one bullock, three cows and four pigs. Each noncommissioned officer, who brings parties of men, shall receive an additional present of twenty acres of land for each new man; and every soldier who comes without a commissioned or noncommissioned officer shall receive fifty acres of land. If he brings his own equipment he shall be entitled to an additional present of twenty thalers. These officers and soldiers will be allowed at once to attend to their land without being obliged to serve; and they will receive, in proportion to the amount of their land, provisions for six weeks. Such commissioned and noncommissioned officers as shall serve, will be promoted in those corps that are composed of native Germans, or in those corps hereafter to be raised by Germans living here. These corps shall do no other service, unless they desire it, than act as guards at a distance from the enemy, or as garrisons on the western frontier.

"Those among you who are skilled artisans will, besides their land and other articles, find abundance of riches in the pursuit of their business, the necessaries of life being very cheap in comparison with the prices paid for manufactures, and there being such a demand for men that each mechanic can find plenty of work.

"Some of you have had an opportunity of testing the truth of these representations, and will, without doubt, inform your countrymen and acquaintances of their correctness. Hitherto, we have met you on the battle field with an inimical heart, caused by the principles of defense; but whenever the fortune of war has brought any of your countrymen into our hands, our hostility was immediately at an end, and we have treated them more like free subjects than as prisoners. We can here refer to their own testimony; and we now call upon you as part of the great family of mankind whose liberty and happiness we are endeavoring with great honesty to secure. Manifest your detestation of remaining longer the tools of mad ambition and lawless force! Appreciate the dignity and grandeur of your nature! Exalt yourselves to the rank of free people of free states! Desist from your vain endeavors to devastate and depopulate a country which you cannot conquer, and accept that of our magnanimity which you can never obtain from our fear! We are willing to receive you with open arms to the bosom of our country. Come, therefore, and partake of the good which we offer you in all candor.[1] In the name of these free and independent states, we promise and assure you a free and uninterrupted exercise of your religion, perfect protection of your persons against injury, undisturbed possession of the fruits of your honest labor, and absolute possession of your lands which shall go down to your children unless you otherwise will it.

"HENRY LAURENS.

"Attested by

"Charles Thomson, Secretary."

The object which congress intended to accomplish by this proclamation can readily be seen. From it no small results were expected. After repeated reports, an English fleet arrived

[1] Or more literally, "which we offer you with a candid heart."

with twenty thousand troops, who were to reenforce the British army in America; an event which gave no little apprehension to the Americans in view of a successful termination of their cause. They intended not only to rid themselves of the prisoners, by inducing desertion, and thus save the expense of provisioning and guarding them, but also to induce desertion among those troops that were in Canada and under Howe, and thereby weaken the royal army as much as possible. How little congress knew European soldiers is evident from the fact of its holding out as an inducement the promise that they should be stationed as far from the enemy as possible. Or, did congress have in view the fate which awaited deserters should they again fall into the hands of their old commanders? But congress made other promises which it was powerless to fulfill, and which, moreover, could only have been believed by those who were unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances incident to this foreign land. If, for instance, it is difficult even at this late day for the American government to protect the lives and property of emigrants in distant and uncultivated districts, it was certainly much more difficult in those days when everything was in its infancy, to say nothing of its being in a time of war. Supposing, however, that a soldier had accepted the proposition and taken possession of his land in those vast deserts, what could he have done with it? He had no tools, seeds, nor cattle; and if anything had happened to him, who was there to assist him? Thus many, who availed themselves of this offer, were plunged into terrible misery.

This presumption of the Americans soon degenerated into impudence. They not only busily circulated the proclamation, dressing it in the most tempting language, but they posted it on houses by the roadside, and even in the camp upon the barracks and the houses of the sentinels.[1]

[1] The above named French adventurer, Armand, carried this nuisance so far, as to have some deserters, who had volunteered under him, clad in a fantastic garb and driven across Winter hill, in order to show their old comrades what a good fate they

General Riedesel sought, in every possible way, to put a stop to this nuisance. He first applied to the American colonel, Hardy, who, having succeeded Colonel Lee, now commanded at Winter hill. Speaking of this officer, General Riedesel says himself, that he was the first American officer he had met, whom he could esteem for his unselfishness and honorable character. This colonel at once ordered that the above mentioned proclamation should be torn down, and was, besides, very indignant at the whole affair.

Indeed, Riedesel, both in writing and speaking, addressed his soldiers in a powerful and touching manner. Both he and General Phillips, who, by the way, was a great favorite with the German soldiers, visited the barracks almost daily; indeed every possible means for the prevention of desertion was employed. Between the barracks and the chain of American outposts on the road beyond, noncommissioned officers were stationed. It was necessary to take the latter for this purpose, as none of the privates could be trusted. This service, however, proving too severe for the old officers, new ones had to be employed. Every soldier caught outside the barracks without a pass signed by the commandant of his regiment, was at once arrested and tried.

Colonel Hardy, believing that the seductive proclamation of congress was designed more for the English army, still in the field, than for the prisoners, was so kind as to offer to arrest all German deserters who were found beyond the prescribed limits. Thereupon, General Riedesel, who knew of six deserters being hidden at Mystic, requested Hardy to arrest them at once; and being exceedingly anxious to have them returned for the sake of the example, he wrote at the same time to General Heath

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had met with. But those, who thus rode about, did not state that the carriages had been hired, and that not all the soldiers, belonging to the corps, were dressed in such uniforms. These facts show the demoralization already existing among a portion of the troops, the deserter feeling no shame in showing himself again to his old comrades and officers.— *Note to the original.*

requesting him to grant their return. Heath answered that the deserters would be returned in two days. But this was not meant in earnest; for the same day they were taken under guard to Prospect hill and allowed to escape. Riedesel, naturally very indignant, complained of this breach of faith in the strongest language, but to no purpose.

Lieutenant Colonel Specht, who had hitherto been a prisoner at Hartford, received — chiefly through the interposition of Riedesel with the commissioner — permission to proceed to New York on parole on account of his health. Riedesel requested him while on the journey, to inquire into the circumstances of the other prisoners, and report the facts to him. In pursuance of this order, in a letter written from Chatham under date of April 28, he draws a sad picture of their condition. He found most of the prisoners covered with vermin, their clothing worn out, and themselves otherwise in a lamentable condition.

On the 18th of May, the 19th English regiment was ordered to march to Rutland.

On the 29th of May, some Brunswick officers succeeded in capturing a deserter on the way from Cambridge to Watertown. This deserter belonged to Riedesel's own regiment. The poor fellow, as being the first caught, had to suffer as an example for all future deserters. The punishment, a hard one for those days, was administered in the presence of all the troops. The man was tied to a post; thirty lashes were given him; his hair was then cut off; after which he was turned loose as dishonored. The Americans quietly witnessed the scene until it was finished; when the Brunswickers plainly saw the American recruiting officers meet the deserter on the other side of the chain, and carry him off in triumph as a *martyr to liberty*.

This punishment, however, had the effect of preventing desertion for a while; but the Brunswickers nevertheless, lost seventy-three men during this month.

Toward the end of the month, little circulars, printed in German, were distributed. Their purport was as follows:

"Resolved in Congress, *May* 22, 1778.

"That it be recommended to the governments of the several states the passage of laws, by which, all those who have deserted, or shall desert during the present war from the English army or navy, shall be free from militia service. That it be further recommended to the governments of the several states to declare all prisoners and deserters incompetent to serve as substitutes in the militia during the present war, and further, to declare void all agreements in this respect, and to empower those prisoners and deserters, who have agreed to go as substitutes, to keep the money they have received for this purpose, for their own use.

"CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary."[1]

By this it was intended to encourage deserters to become citizens of the United States, as they were thus exempted from performing the militia duty to which every native was subject. Captain Hardy was kind enough to show the above circular to Captain Poelnitz on the same day on which the six deserters were arrested.

On the 11th, three English commissioners arrived in America, for the purpose of seeing if a peaceable solution of these difficulties could not be arrived at. These were Carlisle, Eden and Johnston. Congress, however, did everything to prevent their having a hearing.

The 9th English regiment, which was ordered to Rutland, started on the 1st of June, but as all the officers could not be furnished with lodgings, it was commanded only by a captain, only one lieutenant remaining with each company.

On the 1st of June, the following general order of General Phillips was read to the German prisoners at their camp:

"The constant and continually increasing desertion induces General Phillips to believe that our enemies have found oppor-

[1] Extract from the document printed at Lancaster by Fred. Bailey.

tunities to distribute in our barracks specious promises regarding the pay which will be given our soldiers, in case they desert. He believes that in this way some soldiers are blinded and led off into perpetual slavery.

"What can a German win in a country where nothing circulates but paper money? What frightful taxes will the inhabitants of this country have to pay after peace is declared in order to liquidate the public debt? What labor, for a foreigner to clear and cultivate a few acres of land covered with wood? Why, after many years he will scarcely be able to procure from them his daily bread, which he will then have to eat under the contempt of his neighbors, and a gnawing conscience constantly accusing him of having forever left his parents, his countrymen, his fatherland and his sovereign!

"Is it not more delightful and more glorious to suffer for a time, and afterward return with honor and glory to his fatherland, where, with his comrades in arms, he can recall all the pleasant and honorable memories of these campaigns?

"No, soldiers! Be not deceived by these vain promises. Your own experience, the treaty which has been publicly broken, not to speak of other examples, ought to show you the kind of faith that is to be attached to these promises. They ought, also, to prove to you that you had far better be thinking of those obligations to which you are bound by your oath. Remain faithful to your God and your sovereign, and wait patiently for the time when you can rest once more in your fatherland, having the witness of all that you have fought honorably and bravely.

"PHILLIPS, Lieutenant General.

"Cambridge, May 26, 1778."

General Riedesel also sought, by addressing himself to their sense of honor, to accomplish more toward putting a stop to desertion than by threatening punishment. Thus, for instance, he published to the troops in the beginning of June, an article

from the London *News* in which the behavior of the Brunswick and Hesse Hanau troops were highly praised.

For the purpose of loosening the bands of discipline still more, General Heath, without the knowledge of Generals Phillips and Riedesel, issued passes to the English and German officers, permitting them to go to Boston. Upon learning this fact, Phillips issued a strict order to the officers forbidding them to visit that city in future. He also issued another order to the commanders of regiments and battalions that they should gather up and deliver all such passes to him.

Notwithstanding the destitute and miserable condition of the prisoners at this time, they resolved to celebrate, on the 4th of June, the birthday of his majesty, the king of Great Britain. Accordingly the troops marched in their variegated rags and torn shoes to the parade ground and formed in line, as they had formerly done when splendidly accoutred. The generals walked down in front of them closely scrutinizing the expression of each soldier's countenance; and although there were some in whom they had lost all confidence, yet many a faithful eye gazed calmly into theirs. After the parade had thus been finished, the men were addressed by the generals in a short speech, in which the latter described in strong language the crime of desertion and admonished the soldiers to keep faith with their sovereign in the future. The Americans, who were present and saw and heard everything, looked on with astonishment, but otherwise kept quiet. At the close of the exercises, one shilling was given to each noncommissioned officer, and six-pence to each private, for the purpose of celebrating the day.

The members of the Massachusetts assembly having determined to hold their next session at Watertown, General Heath issued an order to the prisoners in which he informed them that the hitherto extended lines were to be contracted to Richards's tavern, about half way to the former town. This was done that those gentlemen might not be disturbed in their meetings. For

the protection of the assembly, a strong detachment was at the same time sent by the governor from Boston to Watertown.

On the 6th of June, an order of Heath to the captive officers was published. This prohibited riding either on horseback or in carriages in Cambridge or Mystic on Sundays.

II.

The commission, appointed for the exchange of prisoners, finally agreed on the 10th of June, that all prisoners of war, without distinction of nationality, should be exchanged according to the time of their capture. Thus, those prisoners who had been captured near Bennington, had the first chance of being released.

Captain O'Connell,[1] asked permission of Riedesel to return to Europe and arrange some pressing family affairs. As the presence of this brave officer could now be of little use, Riedesel did all in his power to further his wishes. In the middle of June, he received permission from congress to return to Europe on parole. Riedesel took this opportunity to send by him his dispatches to his court, also the flags which he had saved. These flags the captain left in Rhode island. They were afterward carried to Canada by Lieutenant Colonel Specht.

On the 14th, a new difficulty arose between the provincials and a Brunswick soldier of the regiment Rhetz, which cost the latter his life. He was on the point of going beyond the chain with his young and beautiful wife who had followed him from Europe, when six brutal militia men began joking with the woman in a coarse manner. The husband in protecting the honor of his wife finally found himself forced to defend her and himself with a cane against their assailants. The sentinel near by, witnessed the unequal combat with all composure, but when the German drove back the Americans, he ran up and thrust his bayonet through him. The poor man soon expired. Ried-

[1] Riedesel's adjutant.

esel again complained bitterly to Heath, whereupon the latter sent the murderer to Boston for trial; but it could never be ascertained what was done to him.

New troubles had by this time also broken out on the side of the English. Two British officers, who had been arrested, had, in the opinion of the Americans, abused the freedom allowed them. General Heath was on the point of having them tried, in which case they would certainly have been sentenced whether guilty or not, when Phillips interfered, and by great exertions saved them from this disgrace.

A still sadder case, however, occurred on the 17th of June. On that day the English lieutenant, Browne, with two Boston ladies, rode down Prospect hill in a one-horse carriage. The road was very steep, and the horse, consequently, was going at full speed. At the foot of the hill a double guard of Americans was stationed whose duty it was to watch that portion of the road lying outside the chain, and also the storehouse at this place. The guard, although they must have known Browne by his uniform, nevertheless called on him to stop. This it was impossible for him to do at once, as the horse was running at great speed. He therefore turned round to show his sabre, thereby indicating that he was an officer. Notwithstanding this, however, the Americans ran up with fixed bayonets, and one of them, regardless of the ladies in the carriage, fired a bullet through the head of the officer. He died a few hours afterward. General Phillips, upon hearing of this circumstance, was fairly beside himself with anger, and, during his first excitement, wrote the following note to General Heath.

"Finally it has come to murder and slaughter. An officer riding from the barracks down Prospect hill has been shot by an American sentinel. I ascribe this terrible event to the thirst for blood which has become inseparable to this rebellion, and in this opinion the whole of Europe concurs. I demand no justice, for I believe that all principles of justice have left

these provinces. I demand the liberty of sending a report of this murder to General Sir Henry Clinton, by the way of General Washington's head quarters.

"WILLIAM PHILLIPS.

"Cambridge, June 17, 1778."

This was bold language for a prisoner exposed to the moods of an unjust enemy; and General Heath was not a little excited when he received this abrupt note. The result was, that a guard of one noncommissioned officer and nine men were stationed in General Phillips's house, while he, himself, was ordered not to leave his house and the adjoining garden, until further orders. In other words he was placed under arrest. At the same time Heath sent his adjutant, Lieutenant Colonel Pollard to General Riedesel and Brigadier Hamilton, offering the former the command of all the captured troops. With dignified composure, General Riedesel listened to this offer; and when the adjutant had finished, he told him curtly and without caring for the selectness of his language, that no general had the power to take from an English general a command that had been given him by his king, and he would, therefore, at all times acknowledge General Phillips as the commander of those troops. This occurrence caused a general excitement in both camps, especially in that of the English. Some officers who had hastened to the scene carried their mortally wounded comrade into the camp, and caused the sentinel who had committed the murder to be arrested. The latter was sent to Boston, but nothing was heard of his being punished. According to rumor, the fellow was sent to the army of General Washington, where, perhaps, other opportunities were given him of showing his bravery in a similar manner to an unarmed foe.

As soon as General Phillips had somewhat calmed down, he issued, on the 18th of June, an order to his troops, in which, among other things, occurs this passage:

"Should it become evident that this proceeding has originated in consequence of express orders, or of an intention of exciting the captured troops, we will for the present bear it patiently and calmly, leaving it to providence to punish such wicked deeds. The treaty, by all appearances, seems likely soon to be ratified. We will, therefore, do nothing which might cause any delay." At the same time the general thanked the officers of the 21st Regiment, the one to which the deceased belonged, for their calm and becoming demeanor.

On the 19th, the deceased was buried with all military honors, and entombed in the church at Cambridge, Heath having given his consent to it. All the English officers and soldiers, together with nearly all the German officers, took part in the funeral. In the *cortege* were several American officers of high rank, who were present, either for the purpose of showing sympathy, or of keeping, by their presence, the provincials and the unruly populace from disturbing the procession.

Meanwhile, Phillips received, on the 17th of June, a letter from General Howe, who was in Philadelphia, in which the latter informed him that in consequence of his own request he had been relieved by his majesty of the command of the army, and that it had been given to General Henry Clinton. The fact was that Howe was dissatisfied with the home government in several particulars. He complained to Lord Germaine of the inattention shown to his recommendations, and, also, of a want of confidence in him, and poor support. This general, like many other commanders, knew how to gain a victory, but did not know how to take advantage of it. When he believed he had done his part, he relapsed from the greatest activity into the most uncomprehensible neglect. We have already seen this demonstrated in the events of the latter part of the year 1776, when the brave Hessians near Trenton were sacrificed to his negligence.

In consequence of constant out door life and poor rations the number of sick in the prisoners' camp was considerably increased.

General Howe had sent into Boston harbor several ship loads of provisions to the prisoners, but the Americans — devoid of conscience — kept the good provisions to themselves, sending codfish and other still poorer articles to the captives. The captured generals had repeatedly and urgently requested Heath at least to send the sick a few fresh provisions, but without avail. The poor invalids continued to lie in the old, miserable barracks in want of medicine; for at that time the drugstores in Boston were most miserably kept, and what medicines were to be had, were enormously dear. Fresh provisions, also, were very high; but as these were absolutely necessary for the sick, Riedesel, on the 19th, ordered the necessary money for this purpose to be drawn from the regimental funds. Considering cleanliness, moreover, as the chief preventive of disease, he issued on Thursday, the 17th of July, the following order:

"General Riedesel, in the course (to-day) of his weekly inspection of companies on parade, observed that some of the men were neither washed nor shaved, nor, indeed, was their hair even properly attended to. He noticed, also, that there was a want of neck and pig-tail ties, and that the men wore pocket handkerchiefs around their necks.

"The closer and the more uncomfortable the men lie in the barracks, the more necessary it is to attend to personal cleanliness; otherwise diseases will break out. Vermin is the first consequence of this state of things, after which come epidemic diseases, especially when the combing of the hair is neglected. General Riedesel has firm confidence in his battalion commanders, that they will as far as possible act upon these hints in their battalions, and that he will see the results of them next Thursday.

"RIEDESEL, Major General."

Riedesel, also, used his utmost exertions to enforce cleanliness in the barracks. The privies and the sewers had to be cleaned frequently. No refuse, such as vegetables, meat, fish, etc.,

were allowed to be thrown in front of the barracks. Two brooms were obliged to be kept in each of the latter, which were used for sweeping them twice a day.

Commissary General Masserow, on the 25th, issued an order to the inhabitants of Massachusetts bay, to the effect that the prisoners of the 71st English regiment were to be sent to Rutland, and thence to Newport, in Rhode island, for exchange. There was yet nothing said in regard to the exchange of the Germans. Upon making inquiry concerning it, Riedesel received from the commissioner the doubtful consolation that the general exchange of the two nations would shortly take place, and the turn of those prisoners who were captured near Bennington, would, therefore, soon come.

The number of Brunswick deserters was much smaller this month than the previous one. Only seven names were on the list.

In the middle of July, Riedesel issued the following circular to the commanders of regiments and battalions:

"The strict orders which have been issued at Boston induces General Riedesel to believe that General Heath intends to find out whether or not the captured officers have obeyed the orders which were issued by him, that he may have an excuse for punishing the transgressors more severely. The larger the number of those who have disobeyed, and the higher the rank of the offender, the better he will like it. We must, therefore, be on our guard, from the highest to the lowest, that nothing may be found in our conduct which can give the Americans the slightest excuse to call us to account. All officers should, therefore, act accordingly, and be very careful in the supervision exercised by them over the soldiers under their respective commands, as it seems that nothing is spoken or undertaken by the officers without its being known at Boston. Notwithstanding General Heath, in an order of the 15th of July, expressly prohibited any of the prisoners working for the inhabitants, either within or outside the limits, the same general, yesterday and to-day,

issued a large number of passes to the inhabitants, permitting them to engage German soldiers to work for them, in case General Riedesel should allow it.

"The latter would cheerfully allow his men, by these means, to increase their pay, providing that their number be not too large; that the commanders of battalions know those men whom they permit to work to be reliable; that the place where they work be not without the limits; and that the soldiers come every Thursday to the parade on Winter hill. But no man is to be allowed to go, without the citizen showing a pass from General Heath. For the Brunswick troops, the passes must be signed by Adjutant General Von Poelnitz. Brigadier General Von Gall will have the passes for the Hesse Hanau troops signed by the brigade major. They are to be sent to Adjutant General Von Poelnitz every week, together with the report of the number of the Hesse Hanau soldiers who work for the inhabitants. Thus General Riedesel will be able at any time to answer the questions of General Phillips, in regard to the number of German soldiers furnished with passes allowing them to work for the inhabitants.

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"July 17, 1778."

III.

The confidence of the Americans in their cause rapidly increased, especially after France — as a proof that she was in earnest in regard to her acknowledgment of the independence of the United States — sent a fleet of twelve ships of the line, four frigates and twelve thousand men to their succor. This fleet, under the command of Count D'Estaing, was already cruising off the coast of Virginia. This movement of D'Estaing caused General Clinton to evacuate Philadelphia and retreat further and further north, as he expected that an attack would soon be made on Rhode island.

The Americans talked now of the capture of Clinton's army

as if it was already a *fait accompli*, and designed for it a fate similar to that of General Burgoyne. They, accordingly, endeavored to gather a force quickly together, and advance with it on Providence, R. I. For this purpose, several regiments were taken from Boston, and also, with the exception of a small detachment, those troops who had hitherto guarded the prisoners. As it was now impossible to keep a chain of outposts around the captured troops, the latter, as a natural consequence, went beyond the prescribed limits, a circumstance of which General Heath complained. The two generals,[1] therefore, in order not to give any further cause for dissatisfaction, and also to avoid all future trouble, formed a line of their own men around the two hills, no one being allowed to go beyond it without a pass. For this purpose, each hill furnished daily one captain, two noncommissioned officers and sixty men.

General Heath had reported to congress the case of the shooting of Lieutenant Browne and the arrest of General Phillips, inclosing at the same time the severe letter of Phillips. On the 7th of July, an answer was received to the effect that Heath's conduct was indorsed. The arrest of Phillips was therefore considered proper; but in the face of his arrest, the latter continued to attend to the duties of commander of the prisoners.

Meanwhile, General Clinton accomplished his masterly retreat to New York. The Americans were not a little astonished when they found that the army, which they thought would be cut off, was now in safety. At first, congress did not know which of the generals was to blame for this failure. All that was plain was, that the proposed plan for capturing the army, which was in itself very defective, had been rendered yet more so by the irresolution of the commanders in carrying it out. Finally the entire blame fell upon Major General Lee, who was the scape-

[1] Phillips and Riedesel.

goat for the rest.[1] General Washington, who accused him of negligence, caused him to be arrested and tried before a court martial. He was sentenced to be deprived of his command for one year. On the 27th, the 20th English regiment started on its march to Rutland. In an order of the 28th, Heath prohibited the soldiers trading in provisions. On this day he directed that the provisions should be taken away from all those who were met with on the way from Cambridge to the hill. Among this number were many servants of the officers, and soldiers who had brought with them the necessaries of life for others. This prohibition, moreover, was the harder for the prisoners, since the American commissioners did not furnish enough of those provisions which were actually necessary to support life. During this month, desertions again increased; twenty-four men having escaped in that time from the Brunswick corps.

On the 1st of August, the birthday of the duke of Brunswick was celebrated as gayly as possible. Divine services were held in the morning, after which the parade took place, the hautboyists being present with their instruments, a portion of which they had managed to keep. Three cheers were given for the sovereign, the soldiers waving their hats every time. After this the troops defiled. At the conclusion of the parade, Riedesel received the congratulations of his officers, after which he gave a dinner, to which all the brigadiers and staff officers were invited. The noncommissioned officers received this day the same *douceur*, that had been given them on the birthday of the king of England, with which to drink the health of their sovereign.

During the 11th, 12th and 13th of August, a terrible storm raged, which tore up the strongest trees and demolished a few of the barracks. Indeed, throughout the entire summer, there were heavy thunder storms in this section of the country. There were, also, heavy dews at night.

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[1] *Vide* the *Treason of Major General Lee*, by George H. Moore. New York, 1860.

The chief theatre of action was now in the vicinity of Rhode island, which was attacked by land and water by the Americans, but was bravely defended by Clinton. The English fleet, under Admiral Howe, was a match for the French fleet, although severe naval engagements occurred every now and then. The wounded in these combats, who had been brought to Cambridge, said that the Americans could not take Rhode island. General Phillips, therefore, announced to his men that the American regiments would soon return to Boston, at the same time forbidding all conversation upon this topic, that all difficulty between them and the excited Americans might be avoided. General Heath was extremely indignant when he heard of this order, which struck him as premature.

On the 29th of August, the French fleet entered the harbor of Boston and cast anchor, for the purpose of repairing the ships which had been severely damaged both by the late storm and the naval engagements. The admiral's ship, *Languedoc*, had lost her masts and bowsprit, so that it was towed into the harbor.

The American land troops that had been sent on the expedition to Rhode island were led by General Sullivan. Very little was known in the prisoners' camp regarding the result of this undertaking, and that little was very unreliable. This arose from the fact that the Americans were very secretive, not allowing even the privates to talk about it; and the statements of those of their newspapers that said anything about it were evidently so onesided as to be utterly unreliable. During this month (August), the Brunswickers lost five men by desertion. Seven, however, who had previously deserted, returned voluntarily.

On the 1st of September, the Bostonians were thrown into no little terror, by the fleet of Admiral Howe, numbering twenty-two sail, making its appearance. The French admiral feared lest the English admiral, taking advantage of the dilapidated condition of his own fleet, might make a demonstration against

the city. He, therefore, immediately hoisted his alarm flags, which was followed by a similar action of the Boston authorities on their buildings and spires. Every one who could carry or obtain arms hastened to the city. The people of the neighboring townships came riding into the city on horseback. Governor Hancock, who had just arrived from Rhode island, at once had the most important parts in and around the city occupied. Meanwhile, it grew dark; and the alarm fires shone from the heights. All this happened in full view of the prisoners. How did their hearts beat in expectation of a possible liberation! Every moment might bring on a decisive action! Who could tell upon whose banners victory might perch?

The Americans, owing to the proximity of the prisoners, were under considerable alarm. But to what place could they send them without an escort, since no troops could now be spared for this purpose? They, however, endeavored to rid themselves of a portion, at least, of these obnoxious guests by ordering the 21st and 47th English regiments to march to Rutland. The necessary teams for this purpose were accordingly procured in all haste; and the regiments ordered to start on their march the next day (September 2d), at noon. An order was also issued that no officer or private of the captured troops should leave his quarters after sunset. But when on the following morning it was found that the English fleet had departed, the Americans breathed easier.

The preparations of the people of Boston for receiving Admiral D'Estaing, had been interrupted by the sudden appearance of the English fleet; but it was now determined to welcome him with extraordinary pomp, on the 4th of September. The large court house at Boston was expressly fitted up for his public reception. The first men of Boston, together with all of the higher grade of officers, assembled here on this occasion. Speaking of this event Riedesel's journal says: "Dinner was served at the palace of General Hancock at the expense of congress. Never before had Boston witnessed such splendor;

and it is said that all the French officers, who were present and who were gallants by nature, enjoyed themselves amazingly during the festivities of this occasion. Afterward the French officers began to make the acquaintance of the prisoners on Prospect and Winter hills." Thus absolutism and democracy fraternized on American soil in order to fight a common enemy. Not a solitary fact in history.

But, notwithstanding these enthusiastic manifestations of friendship, a coolness soon arose upon several questions. Count D'Estaing had expected that his vessels would be fitted out with all necessary provisions by his new allies, and was consequently not a little astonished when the latter utterly refused to do it. The shrewd Americans wished to have his aid as cheaply as possible, and violent discussions arose between the two parties. D'Estaing then made a second demand, to the effect that congress should erect hospitals and take care of the wounded and sick. After considerable talk it was finally agreed that the Americans should furnish the medicines, but not the provisions; and the count was forced to pay dear for every article he took on board, even to a hogshead of water. Nor was it long before the Frenchmen and the Bostonians looked askance at each other. Indeed, their bad feelings increased to such an extent that bloody fights took place between them almost daily. The people of Boston thought that the polite Frenchmen were too lofty and aristocratic; while the latter on their side, thought the Bostonians too vulgar. At last, matters reached such a pass that D'Estaing was obliged to forbid his officers, soldiers and sailors from visiting the city. This state of things was so unpleasant to the governor, that he endeavored to smooth over matters by representing in the public prints that there was no truth in these reports. Indeed, he went so far as to forbid anyone giving them currency in conversation.

During this season the so called foul fever,[1] raged so severely

[1] Was it the yellow fever?

in this part of the country, that many of the prisoners sickened and died. Generals Riedesel and Phillips instituted energetic measures to put a stop to the contagion. Those who were sick of this distemper were separated from the other patients, placed in separate barracks and received separate nurses.

The peace commissioners, Carlisle, Johnston and William Eden, who were treating with Washington, had all along kept in view the fulfillment of the treaty by the Americans, and continued to make representations to congress. The latter returned evasive answers as long as it was able, until it was forced, on the 4th of September, to return a plain answer, as follows:

"Congress, having resolved, on the 8th of January, 1778, that the embarkation of General Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, should be postponed until a plain and clear ratification of the convention at Saratoga could be sent to the court of Great Britain, hereby again resolves that no ratification of the treaty at Saratoga can be acknowledged by congress, even if it should be offered by such powers as are interested in it by connection, participation or otherwise."

This news caused great excitement among the prisoners, although they had long since given up all hope of having the treaty fulfilled by the Americans; and as congress hesitated not to express itself in this manner, might not even worse things be expected?

Lieutenant Colonel Specht, who had gone by a pass to New York, in April, had meanwhile been exchanged, and received orders from the governor of Canada, to gather together the exchanged soldiers and bring them to Canada. In a letter from New Wolfenbüttel, under date of September 4th, 1778, he describes the miserable condition of the prisoners in the northern portion of the United States. Among other things, he says: "The men go naked, without a coat to their backs; and some who have been in the hospital are wearing pieces of blankets, so that I am forced to have uniforms made."

As early as September 19th, the rumor was rife in the prisoners' camp, that it was the intention of congress to separate both nationalities, and send the English troops to Rutland, and the Germans farther in the interior of the country.

On the 21st of September, two more peace commissioners, Doctor Berkenhut and Mr. Temple, arrived from England. The latter is described by General Riedesel as very indolent and careless, but the former as an exceedingly active and careful man who sought to do his duty with all diligence. Dr. Berkenhut, who acted entirely in unison with his brother commissioner, the newly sent Governor Johnson, first endeavored to make the acquaintance of influential Americans, especially with the members of the lower courts, those having the most influence with the different classes of the people. This was done by him with the object of influencing them against congress, and thus creating a division. This person was accused of attempting to carry out his designs even in Philadelphia; a circumstance which so enraged congress that it sent the English peace commissioner to the penitentiary.

On the 24th of September, Riedesel received intelligence from Major Maiborn, who was a prisoner at Westminster, that Commissioner Masserow had stated that a portion of the officers captured near Bennington were to be exchanged. Soon after, news to the same effect was received from the commissioner himself. Upon the reception of this news, Riedesel ordered lots to be cast to decide which of the officers, belonging to the regiment of dragoons and the battalions of grenadiers and yägers, should remain with the captured troops after the others had been exchanged. He excepted, however, from this order, the cavalry captain, Fricke and Lieutenant Gebhard. These, having hitherto served as regimental quarter masters, he ordered to remain and attend to this business for the troops. The following were the officers, who, a few days subsequent, were exchanged and went to Rhode island. Major Von Maiborn, Cavalry-Captain Von Schlagenteuffel, Lieutenants Breda and

Von Reckrodt, Cornet Stutzer, Doctor Vorbrodt, Auditor Thomas and Chaplain Melzheimer of the dragoon regiments; Lieutenants Von Burghoff and Meyer of the grenadier Battalion; Ensigns Donicke and Andre of the regiment Riedesel; Captains Von Geisau and Dommes and Ensign Cornet Ranzau of the battery of Barner; and Lieutenant Bach of the Hesse Hanau troops.

During this month (September), there were only four desertions among the Brunswick troops.

By the beginning of October, the difficulties between Phillips and Heath had reached such a pass that the latter refused to receive any letters from the former. No more business was therefore transacted between the two. Henceforth, Heath addressed himself only to Riedesel, who received from the governor of Boston, a command to attend in the future to all business connected with the English troops. Although Riedesel, who highly respected and loved Phillips, disliked this arrangement, he could not very well refuse compliance with it unless at the risk of having an inferior officer placed over him.

Unfortunately, in the beginning of this month, desertion again increased so rapidly, that Riedesel was forced to isssue another address to his troops.

On the 5th, the 24th English regiment started for Rutland.

In consequence of the presence of the French fleet in the harbor of Boston, provisions were extremely dear, a circumstance that was severely felt among the prisoners. General Phillips was consequently obliged to send the English paymaster Geddes to Rhode island to obtain money and provisions. Commissary General Clarke was also sent to New York on a similar mission, charged, however, with the reporting to Clinton the present condition of affairs among the prisoners and their commanders.

On the 11th October, there was another great excitement among the inhabitants and garrison at Boston. General Sullivan having informed the governor that a strong English fleet

of thirty men of war and one hundred transports had been seen off the coast making directly for Cape Cod, Heath advised the inhabitants to pack up their effects and remove the women and children. The alarm, however, was again groundless.

On the 15th, in obedience to an order from the governor, the 62d English regiment — the last of the English troops on Prospect hill — started for Rutland. The greater part of their officers, however, remained in their old quarters in and around Cambridge, there being, as yet, no room for them in Rutland. Only one captain with each regiment and one lieutenant with each company had accompanied the troops to that place.

Meanwhile, the ships from Canada, with the long expected baggage, arrived in New York. The English lieutenant, Collier, who had been sent by Phillips, with the consent of Gates, from Saratoga into Canada, came with the ships, and reached Cambridge on the 16th of October. He brought some letters from Lieutenant Dove — who belonged to the German troops in Canada — to General Riedesel. Through these letters it was first learned that General Carleton had left for England, and that his command had been given to General Haldimand, who had been appointed governor of Canada. It was also learned that a second transport, having on board four hundred and fifty men, had safely arrived from Brunswick. General Clinton also sent Phillips, through the same channel, the welcome news that four thousand blankets, and cloth for long pantaloons and caps were on their way, all of which was the sole gift of the king of England. The uniforms for the companies were paid for out of a special disbursement in the charge of the captain; but the smaller articles of clothing the soldiers were obliged to pay for themselves, a small deduction for this purpose being taken from their monthly pay. A fire which happened in New York at this time, burned up one hundred thousand yards of cloth and fifty thousand woolen blankets — a great loss for the English troops, upon the verge of winter.

Notwithstanding congress, in the letter of the 4th of September

before alluded to, had plainly declared the invalidity of the treaty at Saratoga, General Clinton took the trouble once more to express his opinions in a letter to Washington as follows: The letter is dated the 19th September.

"Sir: Nothing but the express orders of his majesty — a copy of which I herewith inclose — could have induced me again to trouble you or the American congress in regard to the captured troops now in New England, kept there contrary to the treaty at Saratoga. The uniform disregard paid to all requests in this particular, is unheard of and without a parallel among contending parties. I therefore repeat the request, that the treaty, which was negotiated at Saratoga, shall be carried out, and now offer, with the special and only lately repeated command of his majesty the king, and in his name, to renew all those conditions which were agreed upon by Lieutenant General Burgoyne in relation to those troops under his command. I consider myself hereby discharged from all obligations, not only toward his majesty the king, whose order I obey, but toward the unhappy people whose fate I bring before your conscience in the hope that your sense of justice will prevent the evil consequences which your newly introduced system of warfare will necessarily bring about.

"I have the honor of being, etc.,

"CLINTON."

General Washington sent this letter to congress, and the latter, with laconic brevity answered, through its secretary, as follows:

"Your letter of the 19th September has been laid before congress. I am ordered to inform you that the congress of the United States of North America never answers offensive letters.

"I am, etc.,

"CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary."

Thus vanished the last hope of negotiations with congress in relation to the exchange.

On the 24th of October, a lieutenant arrived with the articles sent by Clinton. They, however, could not be used at present, for on the next day Heath informed Riedesel that the latter was to march on the 5th of November with his Germans to Virginia. The ships, that had arrived from Canada with the baggage, and which had already left New York, received orders to sail toward the Virginia coast, it being impossible to transport the baggage over land on a road six hundred and fifty miles long and in poor condition.

This news was very unexpected to the German troops, for who could have supposed that they were to be forced to undertake such a tedious march just before the approach of winter? What could have induced congress to take such a measure, was asked by all? The question was soon solved. When Clinton perceived that all negotiations with congress were broken off, he declared that if the convention troops were to be treated like other prisoners, they must be supported by their captors. Hitherto the royal magazines had furnished them the necessaries of life, and the extravagant and unreasonable bills of the Americans for quarters, fuel and other things had been paid. This was now to cease. Congress, therefore, not wishing to support the prisoners on the resources of a portion of the country already considerably exhausted by the French fleet and the American army, nothing else remained but to send the prisoners into that section of the country, which, by being farther removed from the theatre of war, had suffered less. Charlottesville, on the James river in Virginia, was accordingly selected for the Germans. This region was called by the Americans a paradise; where, they said, was to be found an abundance of everything.

The cloth, which had in the meantime arrived, was distributed among the companies on the 26th, in order that warm pantaloons, caps and mittens might be at once made up for those soldiers who stood most in need of such articles of clothing. The blankets were also distributed. What was now most anxiously

desired was money; for it would certainly have been a very foolish thing to start out on so long a march and into a country cut off from all communication, without the requisite amount of money. Paymaster Godecke, who was expected from Canada with the baggage and a full purse, was obliged — in order to fill the latter — to go by way of New York. Upon his arriving at New York, however, and applying to Clinton for the necessary funds, he was refused. The latter reasoned as follows: "The Americans have hitherto acted contrary to all faith; and they will not hesitate to take away money from the paymaster on the route to reimburse themselves for the provisions supplied to the captured troops. The latter have to be taken care of any way; and if they have nothing, they can pay nothing." But while Clinton could thus force congress to support the prisoners, the latter suffered. The two generals, Phillips and Riedesel, both of whom, always solicitous for the welfare of their men, were anxious to lessen their sufferings, were no little embarrassed by this answer. Finally, after considerable trouble, they succeeded in obtaining from Heath permission to send Lieutenant Campbell to Rhode island in order to borrow as much money as possible for the present emergency.

During this month, ten Brunswickers deserted.

IV.

On the 2d of November, Phillips issued directions for the march in conformity to Heath's order to the commanders. According to this, the prisoners were to leave Rutland and Winter hill in six divisions. Each nationality formed three divisions, and was attended by an American escort. The first English division, consisting of the artillery, grenadiers, light infantry and the 9th Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Hill, and the first German division, consisting of the dragoons, grenadiers, and the regiment Von Rhetz under Major Von Mengen, were to start on the 5th of November. The second English divisions, consisting of the 20th and 21st Regiments under com-

mand of Major Forster, and the two German divisions, consisting of the regiments Von Riedesel and Von Specht and led by Brigadier General Specht were to follow on the 6th. Brigadier Specht was to command the entire German divisions. On the 7th, the third English division, composed of the 24th, 47th and 62d regiments, under the command of Brigadier Hamilton, was to follow. The latter also had charge of the other two English divisions. The third German division, which was made up of the battalion Barner, the regiment Hesse Hanau, and the Hanau artillery under Brigadier Gall, were also to march on the same day. The strictest order and discipline, and the avoidance of all trouble with the escort of provincials, were especially enjoined; and to prevent any quarrels and disorder, an officer was given to the commander of each division, who was to act as commissary on the march, and make all necessary arrangements with the American leaders in regard to quarters. All the captured officers and soldiers were to bring their complaints or wishes to this commissary; all direct transactions or even conversation with the Americans, being strictly prohibited. Each of these commissaries received daily five shillings, with which to defray, if need be, the most necessary expenses. In case, however, this sum should not be sufficient, they were authorized to draw upon the commanders of regiments, who were ordered in such cases to advance money out of the regimental fund.

Immediately upon the order for the march being issued, Riedesel obtained permission from the commissary to send for two officers, Captain Von Baertling and captain of cavalry Fricke, that they might receive from him, personally, directions in relation to the German prisoners still at Rutland and Westminster. These officers were enjoined to use their utmost exertions to gather together the deserters. They received, also, cloth and blankets for the troops, together with the permission to take the requisite amount of money for present necessities from the Hessian funds in New York and Rhode island. General Ried-

esel wrote in regard to this to the Hessian commanders, Von Knyphausen and Losberg.

General Heath made numerous objections to the number of teams necessary for the march. At last, Phillips lost all patience and declared that he might send the wounded and sick prisoners for exchange to Rhode island by water, or to Charlottesville, as it was utterly impossible to take them upon such a long and tedious march even with an ample supply of teams. Upon this, Heath answered that he had no power to do anything further; he would, however, consent that those who were unable to march, should remain in the hospital at Cambridge. This necessarily gave rise to various explanations and orders, and the march was accordingly postponed to the 9th.

This postponement was a source of great gratification to the two generals, as neither the English paymaster, nor Godecke, nor Captain Campbell had yet returned from their quest for money in Rhode island, and it was of the last importance that funds should be obtained before starting on the march. Regarding this, Riedesel's journal says:

"The want of money was one of critical importance in our position at that time. All the officers, who had money, were obliged to lend it for the use of the troops, who in this manner received their pay in hard cash. Those officers that were in need of money had as much furnished them as was necessary to procure horses, etc., for their long journey. Nor was this any more than fair, as several months' pay was already due them. This arrangement was somewhat of a help, it is true, but not nearly enough to satisfy the demands of all. This being the state of affairs, Riedesel, who alone corresponded with Heath, requested the commander at Boston, in the name of General Phillips, to postpone the march of the troops for a few days until the return of those officers that had been sent to New York and Newport."

This extract will show how carefully the German general looked after the welfare of his troops, and how the wants of the

privates were taken care of by the officers. Indeed, not a few of the latter afterward found themselves exposed to considerable suffering by their noble self-denial. These few lines from the journal, moreover, will serve to refute whole books written by individuals who, in their blind zeal, were anxious to represent the treatment of the Germans in the worst possible light.

The long dreaded 9th of November at length passed, and still the longed for supplies came not. Phillips and Riedesel, therefore, determined to borrow, on their own credit, as much money as possible in and around Boston. This was connected with great difficulties, but money must be procured at every sacrifice. Accordingly, when the troops marched on the 9th, the two generals remained behind in Cambridge to negotiate for a loan.

On the 9th, the first two divisions began the march. Previous, however, to taking their departure, all the officers were obliged to give their word of honor in writing, that they would faithfully carry out in their place of destination the promises made by them here. The wounded, the sick and the disabled were sent to the hospital at Cambridge, the English ensign, Fielding, being left with them. But all who were able went with the troops. Captain Schlagenteuffel of the regiment Specht, and Lieutenant Rheims of the light battalion of the Brunswick troops were taken so ill, that their recovery was considered doubtful, and they were, therefore, left behind in their old quarters at Cambridge.

General Riedesel accompanied the first division as far as Watertown. It arrived in the evening at Sudbury after a march of seventeen miles. His wife, Madame Riedesel, describes her stay at Cambridge as a happy one under the circumstances, and says that she would gladly have remained there with him during the whole of his captivity. She dreaded the journey chiefly on account of the increasing ill health of her husband, who was more than ever subject to nervous excitement, oppression and headache. Vexation and sorrow gnawed con-

stantly at his heart, injuring the body which was already weakened by hardships. Just previous to the start, he bought a new English carriage for himself and family, and provided them with all things needful for a journey which would take them frequently through inhospitable regions.

On the 10th of November, the second division followed, stopping over night in the same place that had been occupied the night previous by the first division, the latter having continued its march to Marlborough and thence to Shrewsbury. The third division followed on the 11th. It was so arranged that one division was always one day in advance of the other. These last two divisions Riedesel also accompanied as far as Watertown. The generals, Riedesel and Phillips, employed the last days of their stay in Cambridge in successfully endeavoring to induce Heath to grant several farms to the troops. Among other things, that general granted permission for those troops who were obliged to remain behind at present on account of sickness, to make the journey to Virginia by water.

Strong hopes of being rescued from captivity, were indulged in by the prisoners just before beginning their march. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to arrange a general exchange; and it was confidently thought that news of final deliverance would be received by the troops during their march. Alas! these expectations were also not destined to be realized.

On the 12th of November, the first German division reached Worcester. On this day, Phillips received a report from Brigadier General Hamilton, announcing that desertion, especially among the Germans, was greatly on the increase. Phillips immediately acquainted Riedesel with this fact, upon which the latter at once sent off an officer to investigate the matter.

On the 13th, the first German division marched to Spencer by the way of Leicester; on the 14th to Brookfield; and on the 15th to Palmer. On this last mentioned day, the officer dispatched by Riedesel returned and reported that the English

had lost on the march to Brookfield thirty-seven men, and the Germans twenty; six, however, had returned.

Meanwhile, a change in the government at Boston had taken place, General Gates having succeeded General Heath. This change at once put an end to the arrest of General Phillips.

On the 16th, the first division arrived at Wilbraham, near the line between Massachusetts bay and Connecticut. On the 17th, it reached Enfield, on the Connecticut river. Here General Prevost was kept a prisoner. The troops were obliged to cross the river at this point; and the march was, in consequence, greatly delayed. Nevertheless, they arrived in the evening at their destined quarters in Suffield. On the 19th, the first division reached Simsbury; on the 20th, New Herford; and on the 21st, Norfolk.

Hitherto the troops had been quartered only in barns. Nevertheless, they were always well pleased with their quarters if only one company were put in a barn. But it sometimes happened that one or two regiments were placed in one building. In such cases no rest could be obtained by reason of so many being huddled together. Notwithstanding, also, that certain villages were always designated in advance as quarters for the soldiers, the latter seldom found sufficient accommodations; and they were obliged, therefore, to avail themselves of the farmhouses along the roadside. Thus companies and regiments were at times miles asunder. Everything, however, up to this time had gone on quietly and in good order; and the men had withstood cheerfully and with courage, their many hardships and privations. Nor had there as yet been any difficulty between the prisoners and their escort.

At Norfolk the march began to be extremely difficult. It was now to be continued over mountains and through the primeval forest. The roads were covered with ice; a cold wind drove the snow and sleet into the faces of the men. The march was slow; and it was impossible to reach the place that had been designated as their quarters for the night. The weary

troops, therefore, bivouacked in the woods, in the midst of a pelting rain, without straw, wet to the skin. The country was very wild. Naked and steep rocks rose up on either side, and foaming waters rushed over precipices and pieces of rock. Only the valleys were covered with woods.

On the 23d, after crossing the Housatonic, the troops marched to Salisbury. Here 17,000 paper thalers arrived, having been sent on from Cambridge by General Riedesel.

Major Hopkins, who had been appointed commissary by the Americans, gave universal satisfaction. He had accompanied the troops as far as Connecticut, when he returned to Cambridge. Brigadier Generals Hamilton, Specht and Gall, sent back by him their reports to Phillips and Riedesel. The latter saw by these reports that the English had lost fifty men by desertion, the Brunswickers thirty and the regiment Hesse Hanau twenty-three. Eight of the Brunswickers, however, voluntarily returned to their respective companies.

On the 25th, Captain Campbell returned from his mission which had proved an entire failure. General Prescott, to whom the captain had applied, returned the curt answer, that "he could give no money from his funds to the captured troops, as he believed his orders prohibited such a course." Neither could any person in New York be found willing to lend money for that purpose.

This intelligence came upon the two generals like a thunderbolt; for they had been expecting hourly Campbell's return with a well filled purse. General Riedesel's predicament, however, was worse than Phillips's, since he had borrowed the above mentioned 70,000 thalers from merchants in Boston, by promising to refund the amount in a few days when he should receive funds from Rhode island. There was no little excitement among these merchants when they heard of the failure of Captain Campbell's mission, and, with great heat, they demanded of General Riedesel their money. He confessed to them frankly that no money could be expected from Rhode island, and that

his only hope was now in General Clinton. He further said, that all he at present could do, would be to give them drafts on Germany or England. At the same time he offered to give them his person as security until the money was paid.

But of what use could the general's person be to the Boston merchants? They, accordingly, accepted the offer of the drafts. There was, however, one exception, viz: a merchant from Mystic, who had lent one thousand guineas. This one would hear nothing of a draft. He came with a justice of the peace and a constable to Riedesel's quarters, and demanded in a terrible state of excitement his money, threatening, in case of a refusal, to arrest the general and bring him to trial before a civil magistrate. The general quietly responded that he was unable to offer anything but good drafts, and if the gentleman insisted on his arrest, he would have to put up with it. At length the merchant, perceiving by the quiet demeanor of Riedesel, that nothing could be accomplished by threats, and knowing that he would have to bear the expenses of the arrest and trial, came to terms and accepted the drafts.

On the 5th, after a hard march, the troops arrived at Sharon. Here again, they were forced to cross steep and high mountains along narrow paths where only two men could walk abreast; a circumstance which greatly protracted the march.

General Washington, who had made Fishkill his head quarters at this time, was careful to send to the left of the prisoners a few brigades in addition to the regular American escort. This he did, partly through fear that Clinton, in whom he had no confidence, would undertake something in their favor, and partly also through fear of the inhabitants, a large number of whom he knew to be still loyal to the king. Nor was his fear regarding Clinton without foundation; for the latter had already sent a few frigates, manned with land troops, up the river. The plan was to force the passage of the narrows, in the highlands, and then attack the post at Peekskill, by which it was thought that the prisoners might be rescued, or at least an

opportunity afforded some of them to escape. But the many fortifications among the highlands rendered the passage of the narrows impossible, and the expedition failed. Nevertheless, a few hundred English soldiers succeeded in making their escape and reaching the ships.

Upon their arrival at Sharon the troops were close to the Connecticut boundary line. They bivouacked in the woods close to the Nine Partners.

The writer [1] of the journal, so often quoted in this work, gives a short description of the spirit of the province at this period. It may, perhaps, be of interest to quote here from his pen as those states mentioned by him have since progressed more rapidly in culture and population than any of the others. The journal says:

"In traveling through the different provinces of North America, one cannot help noticing the difference which exists between them. One sees in a moment the genius of the inhabitants in their mode of living and culture. Thus, in the province of Massachusetts bay, the inclination of the people is for commerce, navigation and the military art. The numerous Europeans, who daily visit the harbor of Boston for the purpose of trading, have introduced, besides the new fashions and extravagance in dress, a sort of luxurious and idle life. Consequently, agriculture, as a general thing, is poorly attended to. The greater portion, also, of the inhabitants in the rural districts, either carry on a small store or keep taverns, whereby they make a livelihood without much trouble. It is only at the new country seats, built by a few wealthy Englishmen about thirty years ago, that agriculture and horticulture is properly attended to. The native,[2] gets along with Indian corn, cabbage, potatoes and fruit, all of which the rich soil produces without much trouble on his part. It would, therefore, not be difficult for the inhabitants to raise much cattle; but as it is, they get along with salt pork, the

[1] Riedesel.

[2] I. e., a native born American.

animals from which this is made, growing up at large in the woods. Many horses are raised, the breed of which could be greatly improved. The men and women are generally well formed and of good growth, but the beauty of the latter is of short duration. They grow old very early and become homely. The population is large, but not many old people are to be seen. Most of the males have a strong passion for strong drinks, especially rum and other alcoholic beverages. The females of all classes are well educated, and can all write. All are fond of dress, and are dressed up every day, even the women of the lower classes. They ride very well on horseback; love music and dancing; but hardly ever work. The man has to do the housework, and wait upon his lady. The women love to domineer, and the spirit of rebellion is more deeply rooted in their hearts, than in those of the men. Besides the taste for commerce, the New Englander has considerable talent for the military art. Industry, they have little to do with, although a few good mechanics are found among them, especially hatters, tanners, saddlers, etc. The great fault with them is, that he who has saved a little by his trade, starts either a small store, or seeks a position of military honor. In their own houses they are cleanly.

"The inhabitants of the province of Connecticut are much more industrious and diligent. The women dress more modestly, and are good housekeepers. Agriculture flourishes, and the breeding of cattle is a source to them of great wealth. The manufacture of linen and woolen goods is as yet in its infancy. The weaving loom is the pastime of the women, even among those who consider themselves of rank; and the man of the house considers it an honor to wear cloth that has been made on his farm. Connecticut furnishes cattle and corn to the American army. The spirit of the inhabitants is less military than that of Massachusetts bay; but the theatre of war being near their lines they are carrried away, notwithstanding they love peace and labor rather than war. Many are loyal, and are therefore exposed to the persecutions of the others.

"In the district of New York, through which we passed, are many families of Hollanders; also many Germans. The most of the inhabitants are tories. Many avow this openly, and many are therefore fugitives. The American army being in the heart of the province, their hands are tied; otherwise, it is believed that the royalists would be in the majority. During the march of our troops through this province, many offered to lead parties of forty or fifty of our men safely through the woods to the army of General Clinton; but the honor and the parole of our officers would not permit this. The country, once so beautiful and flourishing, was entirely drained of its resources, and the inhabitants could speak of nothing but the abundance and the happiness they had enjoyed previous to this desolating war. Numbers of tories have joined the disaffected, who reside in Canada, and have made so much uproar in the colonies. Most of the English inhabitants are great rebels, but their number is not in the majority in the district through which we have passed."

The first division took up their quarters on the 27th of November at Beekman's, having passed that day a village in the middle of a forest.

On the 28th of November, General Riedesel and family started from Cambridge in two carriages. Himself and family rode in one, and his servants in the other, which served also for a baggage wagon. General Phillips remained a few days longer. General Gates, who had succeeded Heath in the command at Boston, by his customary friendly demeanor, made the few remaining days of Riedesel's stay very pleasant. It seemed as if he wished to neutralize the unpleasant conduct of his predecessor. In fact, there is no question that if this brave man had made his appearance sooner in Boston, much trouble would have been spared to the general, as well as much suffering to the troops.

Gates did all in his power to make the journey for Riedesel and his family as comfortable as possible. He sent with them,

as an escort, Colonel Troup, with orders to accompany the travelers as far as the province of Jersey, and procure for them the best of provisions, horses, quarters, etc.; in short everything that was necessary for their comfort. He even went so far as to give Riedesel letters to influential persons who resided in those sections of the country where it would be difficult to obtain good lodgings. Thus, the American and German generals parted in the most cordial manner.

On the 28th, the troops arrived at Fishkill, the head quarters, at this time, of General Washington. Speaking of the latter, the journal says: "General Washington saw all our divisions and treated our officers with great politeness. All that can possibly be said against this man is, pity is it, that a man of his character and talents should be a rebel against his king."

On the 29th, the English troops were ferried across the Hudson in the midst of a severe storm; nor was it until the third day that the passage was entirely accomplished. After the English troops had crossed, they waited for the Germans to follow them over the river. At Fishkill, the officers received sufficient forage money for one hundred and sixty-five days, and the soldiers stockings and shoes. This caused universal joy. These articles had been sent by Clinton directly by way of Washington's head quarters, as he felt sure from that general's character that the troops would receive them.

The Brunswickers lost during this month fifty men by desertion.

On the 1st of December, the first and second German divisions were conveyed across the river to Newburgh. The same day the third German division also arrived at Fishkill. General Washington was now more than usually vigilant, hearing, as mentioned above, that Clinton would make a diversion in favor of the prisoners.

As soon as all the troops had crossed, the American general in chief changed his head quarters to the Raritan river in the province of New Jersey; and the Marquise de Lafayette, who

up to this time had been with Washington, went to Boston. On his journey he met Riedesel's military and personal family at Hartford, where the travelers had halted a day for rest. Riedesel, who had arrived in advance of the others, and was occupying the only good tavern in the place, invited the marquise and his escort to dinner, knowing that the Frenchman loved a good table. He accepted the invitation and during the meal appeared very amiable and friendly. The conversation being carried on only in French, the American officers of Lafayette's staff who were present, not understanding that language, expressed by their looks great dissatisfaction — thinking perhaps, that Riedesel was endeavoring to make a proselyte of the French general.[1] The latter spoke in high terms of England, especially of the kindness of the king as manifested toward him during his stay in that country. Upon this Mrs. Riedesel could not let slip the opportunity of making a few sly remarks upon the fact that while, according to his own confession, he was the recipient of kind attentions from the king, he was about offering his services to his majesty's enemies. This attack of his fair hostess embarrassed the otherwise versatile Frenchman not a little. Indeed, before his departure from England for America, he was accused of being a spy. The *Journal* states that Lafayette fell in with Riedesel purposely on this journey. Speaking of the former, it says: "Besides his manly, physical beauty, he possesses the politeness of a Frenchman of high birth. In modesty he outdoes his nation, thereby proving still more his noble lineage."

On the 2d of December, the first German division marched to Otter hill and Goshen-town; and on the 3d, by the way of Florida to Warwick, the last town in the province of New York. On the 4th, they crossed the line and halted for the night at Hardy's town in Jersey. On the 5th, they reached Sussex

[1] As both Riedesel and Lafayette could speak English, this treatment of the American officers was far from courteous.

court house; and on the 6th, Endeavor, where they were obliged to remain until the 9th, while waiting for teams. On this day, they again started and marched as far as Haket's town. On the 10th they were at Changewater; on the 11th, at Pittstown; and on the 12th, at Everit, on the Delaware. That river forms at this point, the boundary line between the provinces of Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Hitherto the roads had been bad beyond all description, often, indeed, almost impassable. In the best of weather they were miserable, but now they had been rendered a hundred times worse by the continual rain and snow. The shoes of the soldiers frequently stuck fast in the mud, rendering marching extremely difficult. General Riedesel did his best to come up with the troops, but was unsuccessful. The greatest trouble was experienced in raising a sufficient quantity of horses. Mrs. Riedesel, with her children, was in constant danger; and the English adjutant, Edmonston, often dismounted to assist her servants in preventing the carriage from being upset.

On the 13th of December, the travelers arrived at Fishkill; and notwithstanding the exertions of the American commander, Major Douglass, to collect the needed number of horses, they were forced to remain here until the 18th. The same experience also attended General Phillips, who had started from Cambridge on the 1st of December with the intention of catching up with Riedesel. Colonel Troup being obliged to return in a few days to Boston, Riedesel requested Washington to send him another officer in place of the colonel.

On the same day (the 13th), the first of the German troops crossed the Tokiken river, and halted at Blamstedt in Bank's county, Penn. On the 14th, they reached Montgomery in Philadelphia county, and on the 15th, New Providence. On the 16th, they crossed the Schuykill, near Downing town, to Valley Forge. Here a few days of rest were given them.

On the 17th, the march was continued to Salisbury; thence, on the 19th, across the Brandywine to Leekok township; thence

across the Canostoga river to Lancaster, where, on the 20th, they had another day of rest. On the 21st, the march was continued to Hampton, and on the 22d, the Susquehanna was crossed near Wight's ferry, and quarters taken for the night at Yorktown. On the 23d, McAllister town (Hanover) was reached, where the 24th was spent as a day of rest. The 25th found them at Pater-Little, the last town in Jersey. On the 26th, the boundary was passed and the troops quartered at Tawney town.

The *Journal* thus speaks of these two states: "The province of Jersey is, as a whole, populous and as well cultivated as that portion of New York through which we passed. A great many Irishmen have settled here, whose natural abilities are pretty fair, though they do not equal the Germans in economy and in the cultivation of the soil. Nor do they by any means come up to the Herrenhüters, who, forty years since, settled a few places, among which is Bethlehem, on the line of Jersey and Pennsylvania. Occasionally one sees beautiful settlements belonging to the quakers. So far as we have had an opportunity of judging the sentiments of the people, we should say that, perhaps, not one-fifth of them are loyal to the cause of the king. The inhabitants of this province are very likely in fear of the stronger party, the army being quartered among them. Many have left their property and enlisted in the royal army.

"The state of Pennsylvania may be said to be as well cultivated and populated as the best German province. Besides her chief city Philadelphia, it has many large and beautiful cities, and is the corn magazine for the middle provinces of North America. Inasmuch also as it has been made rich by industry, its prosperity is an honor to the German nation. The raising of cattle is extensively carried on. Accordingly, Pennsylvania furnishes most of the teams for the army. It has very good linen and woolen factories. In the manufacture of linen and leather, the inhabitants are independent of Europe. There is, however, as yet, a want of dye-houses. The inhabit-

ants are peaceable and temperate, and have a great liking for agriculture and mechanical trades. This latter fact may, perhaps, be owing to the principles of the different religious sects. The Quaker, for instance, is not allowed to go to war, unless he renounces his doctrine. The same is true of the Denkers or Anabaptists. The province is full of these two sects. The Reformed Dutch and the Lutherans are the only ones who can be had for militia. The others, however, are obliged to pay a fine. The inhabitants of both sexes are not as good looking, nor of as pretty a form as those of New England. The royal party is strong, but their opposition to the whigs is of not much account, as their religion forbids their acting in a hostile manner. Our troops were received in some of their houses far too well, as we knew to our sorrow." [1]

On the 27th, the first division crossed the large and small Bempaip creek, and were quartered at Bempaip Hunnert. On the 29th they crossed the Manakessi river and reached Frederick's town. On the 30th, they arrived at Charlestown, near the Potomac. This river forms at this place the boundary line between Maryland and Virginia. Speaking of the former, the *Journal* says:

"Maryland, as far as regards cultivation, is very similar in appearance to Pennsylvania, although it is far behind the latter. The country on the Potomac is beautiful and fertile. The Germans and English are here about in the same proportion. There are, perhaps, a few tories in the province, but they are not allowed to manifest their feelings openly. Frederick's town is a pleasant inland city."

On New Year's eve, 1778, the German troops first stepped on to the soil of Virginia, a country which had been described by the people around Boston as a real El Dorado. The soldiers crossed the Potomac near Knowland's ferry and bivouacked during the night in the woods in London county. Here they

[1] Because some of the Germans, in consequence, deserted.— *Note to original.*

remained over New Year's day, for the purpose of recovering from their fatigue. Here Germany's sons laid in the woods, wet and cold, in snow a foot deep, with a gloomy future in store for them. Perhaps, each of them thought of his home in the distant fatherland, of dear relations and friends, of the days of his boyhood, and of the joys of former New Year's nights, passed, never to return. The fires which were kept going with green wood emitted scarcely any warmth. All was cold and cheerless. In that dreary primeval forest, naught was heard save the dismal moaning of the wind among the old tree tops; and while some laid on the snow covered ground to rest their tired and aching limbs, others meditated sadly besides the camp fires. In this manner the Germans spent the New Year's night in the wilds of North America.

On the 2d of January, 1779, the first division reached the little hamlet of Leesburgh, where the troops were miserably quartered in barns and in the cabins of the negro slaves, belonging to a planter. On the 3d, the division crossed Goose creek and bivouacked in Leicester. On the 4th, it was quartered near a tavern, called Read's house, in King William's county. On the 5th, it reached Fouquier court house, in the same county.

On the 7th, the same division crossed the Rappahanock in Culpepper county; and, on the 8th, Culpepper court house. On the 9th. the arm of the above named river was likewise crossed, the troops remaining that night in the same county. The Robertson river was reached on the 10th, and crossed on the 11th, the men arriving the same evening at Orange court house. During the night there was a heavy frost, an occurrence which seldom happens in these southern parts. The 12th, was passed in this county, and by the 13th, Albermarle county was entered. On the 14th, the division crossed the James to Charlottesville; and, on the 15th of January, reached their place of destination. The barracks were not yet completed. The foundation, it is true, was laid, but the snow had

scattered the workmen; and the troops, on their arrival, beheld nothing but a hilly surface covered with snow. This was the first picture that greeted their vision in this greatly praised country!

We left General Riedesel and his family at Fishkill. During this journey he experienced much that was disagreable, and suffered many wrongs from the inhabitants who were to a man, in favor of "the cause of freedom." Some of them scarcely would grant a shelter to the weary travelers, even when extreme fatigue prevented them going a step further, and it would have been still worse for them, had not Madame Riedesel been in the party. By her eloquence and patience, she knew how to move these obdurate people.

The passage across the Hudson in a miserable skiff in the midst of stormy weather, was attended with extreme danger; and competent judges, who afterward heard of it, could scarcely understand how it was that it had been so successfully accomplished.[1] The river having been safely crossed, the party continued their journey as far as the residence of an American colonel, by the name of Horborn,[2] to whom Riedesel had a letter from Gates. They were received by him in a most friendly manner, notwithstanding he was a great enemy to the royalists, as well as a very blunt man.

The fact that General Riedesel did not arrive at Lancaster on the 19th of December, with the troops, was, perhaps, a most fortunate circumstance; for the inhabitants were so enraged against him, that extreme measures might have been provoked by his presence. Among the many silly reports which were circulated and believed in these excitable times by the people of Lancaster, was one to the effect that the city of Lancaster, and the surrounding country had been presented to the German

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[1] For a minute account of this passage from Mrs. Riedesel's own pen, the reader is again referred to her *Letters and Journals*, published by J. Munsell.

[2] Probably Osborn. Mrs. Riedesel, also, spells it Horborn.

general, by the king of England, and that the general would soon arrive with his troops to take possession. The excitement was, therefore, great when the German troops arrived; but as soon as the American officers on the escort, explained the true position of affairs, and the pitiable condition of the troops was seen, many a good citizen of Lancaster wondered how he could have given credence to such a ridiculous rumor.[1]

Snow had already fallen to such a depth that the carriages of the general's party could scarcely move. The coachmen, at times, were obliged to take the horses from the vehicles, and, with the officers who escorted the family, ride on in advance, to break a road. The provisions were exhausted; and very often not a particle of food could be had of the evilly disposed inhabitants even for money. Mrs. Riedesel and her children actually suffered from sheer want, and this, notwithstanding her husband and his officers deprived themselves of everything, that the women and children might be provided for. Captain Edmonston, who out of love for the children, had accompanied the party, would often ride to the huts, which were a little off the road, and beg provisions of the inhabitants; but he generally returned from a bootless mission. The people either answered very curtly, that they had nothing themselves, or else said plainly, that they had no provisions for a royalist. One woman, who was a thorough republican, said on one occasion in the presence of the Madame Riedesel and her children who were weeping and trembling from cold and hunger, that it would be the greatest pleasure for her to see them perish before her eyes. And yet all these insults were borne by this noble woman with admirable resignation; and her eloquence finally succeeded in softening the heart of this virago so far that, after a few hours, she offered to her everything that she had in her house and cellar.

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[1] Lancaster, at this period, was one of the most important cities of America. It numbered about nine hundred houses.—*Note to original.*

Soon after crossing the Hudson, General Riedesel, with a few of his adjutants, left his family, in order to overtake his troops. It is not known definitely where he met them, or, indeed, if he overtook them at all. Only this much is known to a certainty, viz: that the general waited for his family at Colle, which is distant about two hours from Charlottesville. Here he had hired a house, which he was occupying when Mrs. Riedesel and the children joined him about the middle of February. The party had been twelve weeks on their way, had crossed six states, and had journeyed six hundred and seventy-eight miles. The house, hired by Riedesel at Colle belonged to an Italian, who, a few weeks later, moved out of it, leaving it, together with a nice little garden, to Riedesel and his family.

The troops, as already mentioned, found the barracks unfinished, but received the material, already partly prepared, together with the necessary tools. There was, therefore, nothing left for them but to go to work, which they did with a will. They worked so diligently that in a short time a little board city, with regular streets, was built. It had been confidently expected by the troops, that ample provision would be made for supplies upon their arrival. On the contrary, however, they suffered from actual want, as it was found that the meat, which had been stored in anticipation of their arrival, was all spoiled. This meat, according to the custom of the country, was kept in holes dug in the ground. But the pits not being sufficiently deep, the meat composing the upper layers was rotten, and of course entirely unfit for use. Dire want, however, compelled the men to preserve those portions that were partially decomposed, by washing and smoking them.

1779.

In the preceding chapter it has been seen that this year, also commenced inauspiciously for the captured troops. The last, hope of deliverance, which had buoyed them up during their weary march, had now vanished. The expectation of a partial amelioration in their condition, especially in regard to shelter and food, had come to nought. In their present quarters everything was even worse than it had been at Winter hill. They had now come, indeed, into a foreign land. They had to become acquainted with the customs and ways of the inhabitants. They had, also, to become acclimated. The country, with the exception of those portions near the swamps, and some sections in the vicinity of the coast, was generally healthy. But the heat during summer was very great. The temperature changes quickly; and violent thunder storms characterize the southern climate. The troops found fewer populous cities, less cultivated land and a smaller number of artificial roads. The rich planters had divided among themselves the fertile soil, which they generally allowed to lie untilled. They spent their lives in effeminate leisure, while their negro slaves were forced to raise tobacco and maize under the lash of a hard hearted overseer Outside of the few cities there were only masters and slaves; for even to this day Virginia belongs to the slave states, and has maintained her prerogatives in regard to man selling. Thus, Virginia, of all the states in North America, has kept her old institutions the most intact.[1] The customs of the grandparents were inherited by the grandsons without alteration. The plantations of the rich planters were the same then as now, notwithstanding the present views of freedom. The villages consisted of miserable huts inhabited by negroes. The barns and wagon houses which took up considerable space, and the rich lands and woods, reach-

[1] This book was written in 1856.

ing as far as the eye could reach, belonged to only *one* lord, whose sole care was to amass more riches by the sweat of his negroes, in order to extend his boundaries yet farther — the influence of the planter being measured by the extent of his possessions.

The manner in which the troops lived, also, was now altogether different from that to which they had been hitherto accustomed. Animal food and maize were chiefly used; vegetables were scarcely known. For drink, they had sour cider, whisky, and a kind of sweet beer, prepared from the fruit of the diospyrus. The negro, like the cattle, was fed on maize. Whatever else the lord and his family needed, was bought in other parts of the country with his good [1] money.[2]

It can, therefore, be easily imagined that under such circumstances very little could be had for the troops, and that little only at enormous prices. The sad condition of the men was a source of great sorrow to Generals Phillips and Riedesel; and yet nothing whatever could be done, but to comfort the poor soldiers with the prospect of a better future. This was certainly no easy matter, after their many previous disappointments. Still, the generals did all in their power to encourage them. Thus, General Phillips, before reaching the troops, issued the two following orders:

"ORDER OF GENERAL PHILLIPS. No. I.

"GEORGETOWN, *February* 12, 1779.

"General Phillips informs the troops that he intends soon to join them, and that he will make every effort to render their

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[1] The sense in which the adjective "good" is here used, is not quite clear. Perhaps, it is meant to distinguish gold and silver from *paper* or continental money.

[2] The great passion for extravagance among the Virginian ladies at that day, is mentioned by contemporary writers as being most extraordinary. Schoff says that when he traveled in Virginia, in 1780, he stopped one day at a planter's house which was a most wretched affair. It was a kind of log house without glass windows, and with everything else to correspond. But the lady of the house, who received him, was dressed in silk and velvet, and wore a bonnet trimmed with feathers; gloves, plenty of jewelry, etc.— *Note to original.*

sad stay as comfortable as possible. The ships with the uniforms are on their way; and all other articles conducive to the comfort of the troops shall be procured very soon. Money will arrive at the same time with the baggage.

"General Phillips desires nothing so much as to be able to give the troops good news in regard to their speedy exchange; but all the trouble that the commissioners have taken to bring this about, has, up to this time, proved fruitless. His excellency, General Clinton, has made several propositions to congress, but they have all been rejected. General Phillips, also, has submitted propositions to General Washington, having reference to the same object, but they likewise have been rejected. It seems as if the Americans intended to separate the officers from the troops, but we cannot allow this without forfeiting our honor. We must, therefore, patiently bear our misfortunes a little longer. On the arrival of General Phillips, the proceedings of the commissioners in relation to the exchanged will be published to the troops.

"PHILLIPS, Major General."

Eight days later, the following order was issued:

"ORDER OF GENERAL PHILLIPS. No. II.

"FREDERICKSBURG, *February* 20, 1779."

"General Phillips perceives with sadness, in the reports of General Riedesel and Colonel Hill, the sorrowful situation of the troops, and promises to relieve their miserable situation as speedily as possible. His duty alone obliges him already to take part with the troops under all circumstances; but this duty is doubled by the extraordinary good behavior of the troops during the severe march of the past winter, and makes it the more binding upon him to do everything possible for their comfort.

"The army of brave English and German veterans, who, with so much endurance, have withstood the difficulties of so long a

march, and the still greater misfortunes of their present situation, may be assured that this example of honor and faithfulness to the king will always be remembered with praise and high consideration. General Phillips will not fail to report this conduct of the troops to General Clinton, who will announce their meritorious behavior to the king himself.

"PHILLIPS, Major General."

The increasing scarcity of money was the cause of paper money being finally issued to the troops. The paymasters of the different regiments accordingly met on the 1st of March at Charlottesville, and conferred with the English paymaster, General Geddes.

Warm weather came on very early. The trees were in blossom by the middle of February. General Riedesel determined that now, at least, his family should have plenty to eat. Accordingly, having hired the house of the Italian, and the garden belonging to it, he planted the latter — and other ground also — with vegetables. The seeds he procured from various places. He encouraged his men, also, to practice horticulture, giving them seeds for this purpose. Soon there was to be seen a little garden surrounding each barrack; and here and there a fenced inclosure in which were kept chickens and other fowl. This afforded amusement to the soldiers, and broke up, somewhat, the monotony of their inactivity. By this means, also, they obtained, at a comparatively cheap rate, vegetables of which they had hitherto been deprived.

The dwelling house proving too small for Riedesel's family and friends, he built a log house, in the centre of which was a kind of hall with two rooms on either side. The furniture was adapted to the house; for the chairs consisted of blocks of wood and the tables of boards laid across the chairs. A stable for the horses and a carriage house were also built in the same manner. Adjoining the house was a fenced garden in which the general loved to employ himself. Besides this, he bought

cows, pigs, chickens and other domestic animals, so that the general appearance was more like a farm than the habitation of a general. Having many at his table, he had an ox and two pigs killed every fortnight. Besides his own family, he had daily at his table Captains Von Pollnitz, Gerlach, Willoe and Geismar, Lieutenants Cleve and Freeman,[1] and Chaplain Mylius. In addition to these, he frequently invited other officers to dinner, both German and English. General Phillips was a daily guest. The negroes occasionally brought in fowls, fruit, or a few vegetables, and small farmers also came with butter, eggs, etc. In this manner the most necessary provisions were obtained.

In June of this year, Riedesel came very near losing his life. One day he went out of doors in the heat of the sun, having neglected to cover his head. A few moments after, he fell to the ground apparently lifeless. Upon being brought to, he stated that he was just on the point of returning into the house, when he fell senseless. He had been sunstruck. This, in most cases, proves fatal; and in the present instance, it would have proved fatal, had not speedy assistance been at hand. The fact, moreover, that it was at hand was due to the merest chance.

This accident, together with the continued heat, greatly increased Riedesel's ill health. His nervousness, tightness of the chest, and sleeplessness increased more and more. He was now always sad and irritable; and it was fortunate for him that he had his careful wife as nurse. The physicians advised him to go to Frederick's spring in Virginia. He received permission from congress to do so; and, in company with his family, his adjutant,[2] Captain Geismar, Lieutenants

[1] The same who drew the maps of the actions at Freeman's farm and Bemis's heights, copies of which illustrate this work.

[2] The English adjutant, Edmonstone, who had been so faithful to Riedesel, had left a short time previously for New York to be exchanged. Riedesel gave him a letter of recommendation to the adjutant of Washington, Colonel Henry, with whom he was well acquainted, and whom he requested, in the letter, to assist the English officer on his journey as soon as possible. Before the outbreak of the North American war, Edmonstone had been a member of the Collegium Carolinum at Brunswick.— *Note to original.*

Freeman and Cleve and a few servants he started for that place, taking with him as his medical attendant, the regimental doctor, Bause.

At this both Riedesel and his wife formed some pleasant acquaintances, and among others, that of Washington's family. It is a pity that Mrs. Riedesel, in her interesting book, does not say anything concerning the latter. She mentions some of their cousins whose acquaintance she also made; and it may therefore, naturally be presumed that this acquaintance did not extend beyond the limits of the common forms of politeness.

It was fortunate that Madame Riedesel did not lose courage under all these difficulties. She was thus enabled to alleviate the sufferings of her husband, besides, gaining many friends. Captain Geismar would occasionally accompany her with the violin. At such times she would sing a merry song, to the great delight of her husband who was very fond of music.

While at Frederick's spring, Riedesel received the joyful intelligence that both he and Phillips had received permission to go to New York with their adjutants. Some time previously the two generals had asked for this permission, believing that their prospects for an exchange would be much better in New York than in Virginia. Riedesel, accordingly, returned to Colle on the 5th of September, to arrange matters with his troops and at his house, before his departure. He wished, also, to sell his furniture. The house which he had put up, but which had not, as yet been occupied, cost him one hundred guineas. Mrs. Riedesel remained for a short time longer at Frederick's spring, it having been agreed between herself and husband to meet each other at Yorktown, in Pennsylvania.[1]

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[1] Duke Bernhard, of Weimar, who traveled through the North American states, visited the spot where this block house of Riedesel had formerly stood. It was an uncultivated hill upon which stood some pines which Riedesel had planted. The duke took a few twigs to the son of the general, as a memento of his father's captivity.

Before going to Frederick's spring, Riedesel had made special efforts to arrange some matters in which he was very much interested. Congress was continually endeavoring to separate the officers as much as possible from their troops, and the former had accordingly been quartered at Richmond. Congress, by this conduct, could have had no other motive, but to deprive the captured soldiers of the supervision, and thus facilitate and encourage desertion. Riedesel was, therefore, anxious to have these orders of congress partially, if not entirely revoked. His remonstrances, however, were of no avail. Congress not only paid no heed to his supplications, but sent the Brunswick officers from Richmond, still further into the country. Riedesel then appealed to General Harvy, at that time commanding at Richmond, and by whose orders the officers were to leave the city. General Harvy returned a very civil reply to the effect that as there was considerable ammunition in Richmond, any one evilly disposed, especially a servant, might do a great deal of damage. But the main reason which he gave for his course, was, that the populace of Richmond were very much prejudiced against the officers, and that evil consequences might be the result if they remained in the city.

Meanwhile, the baggage from Canada arrived at Richmond. It was intended to have sent this at once over to the officers' camp. The latter's sudden departure, however, prevented its immediate delivery. On the 7th of June, Riedesel wrote to Phillips requesting permissson to send a few officers to Richmond, to take care of the baggage. In this letter, the necessity for such a course, in view of the soldiers having no clothing and the officers not being in a much better condition, was strongly presented. In reply, General Phillips granted permission for one officer from each regiment, and a sufficient number of noncommissioned officers, to proceed to Richmond for that purpose. The officers ordered upon this service were Captain Gerlach, five quarter masters and one dragoon from the Brunswickers, and one officer and one noncommissioned

officer of the artillery from the Hesse Hanau division. Upon their arrival at Richmond the baggage was given up, but they themselves were awfully cheated by the inhabitants, several of the noncommissioned officers having to pay two thalers for a miserable bed and poor board. In his report, Riedesel complained of this treatment to Phillips, and requested him to ask the United States government to allow a certain amount for the board of these officers, who had been detached for this service, as had been customary while they were in New England. But besides all these vexations, the long expected baggage was itself in a bad condition; a large portion of it being either missing or spoiled. The infantry and artillery regiments of Hesse Hanau were in a bad predicament. The new clothing for the troops had been sent from Hanau almost two years before, and had not yet arrived. The men were, therefore, all in rags. And to put the finishing blow to their hopes, when the baggage finally arrived from Canada, it was found that but a small portion of the clothing had come, that which had arrived being so damaged as not to be fit to use. There were in this country very few hotels and taverns; and, those travelers who were so unfortunate as to be caught over night in the country, were obliged to throw themselves upon the hospitality of a planter or a white settler, either of whom generally charged exorbitantly.

Upon Riedesel's departure from Frederick's spring, from which, by the way, he received no benefit (the warm baths only exciting his nervous system to the great detriment of his health by depriving him of sleep), he gave his command during his absence to Brigadier General Specht. At the same time he dispatched his adjutant, Cleve, to Phillips, to arrange several matters relating to the exchange. This latter mission was performed as secretly as possible, as no reliance could be placed on the American commissioner, Willichen, who was with the troops, and who, being of a malignant and deceitful character, might postpone the whole affair. After arranging his affairs

in Colle, and doing everything in his power for the comfort of his men at Charlottesville, Riedesel started on his journey with the intention of meeting his wife at Yorktown. On his reaching there a few days afterwards with General Phillips, whom he had met on the way, he found that his wife had arrived a few days before him. After encountering many dangers, that brave woman with her children had reached the place a few days earlier and had thus had an opportunity of enjoying a little rest which she at that time very much needed, for she was sick and weary, and expected shortly again to become a mother.

From Yorktown, the travelers pursued their journey through beautifully cultivated regions, and arrived safely at Elizabethtown opposite Staten island. They were joyful and in high spirits at the near prospect of a termination of their journey. Little did any one expect that in a few moments their long cherished hopes were to be dashed to the ground! The party were just eating supper, after which they intended to embark for New York, when the door opened, and without ceremony a commissioner from Washington made his appearance, and, in a very pompous manner, handed a large document to General Phillips. The latter could scarcely believe his eyes when he read in it a revocation of congress, of the permission to proceed to New York and be exchanged. Phillips, who was naturally very excitable, jumped up from his chair in a towering passion, and, striking the table with his fist, exclaimed in English, "Very good! This might have been expected of men who are all rascals!" These words having been uttered in the presence of the commissioner, Mrs. Riedesel was not a little alarmed at this inconsiderate act. Which, being noticed by Phillips he was self-possessed in a moment; and, taking hold of the hand of the alarmed lady, said, "Well, my friend, be not discouraged; follow my example; look, I am collected." "Each one," replied Mrs. Riedesel, "shows his grief in his own manner. I keep mine in my bosom, and you give vent to yours in passion;

but I think you would do better not to show these people your anger, for they only scoff at it, and it can only cause you more trouble." In return, the general admitted that the prudent German woman was right. He thanked her, and assured her that henceforth he would bear his grief patiently. This conversation had been carried on in French. Fortunately, the American took no notice of it, merely smiling scornfully at the demonstration of the excited general, and going quietly back whence he had come.

The travelers were accordingly obliged to return to Bethlehem through which they had already passed twice. Here they put up at a good hotel, with the intention of remaining until permission for them to continue their journey should arrive.

Bethlehem, situated on the beautiful Leiheigh, in a delightful region, presented a very friendly and neat appearance. Cleanliness was apparent both within the houses and on the streets. The village, and also the adjoining one, called Nazareth, had been begun about forty years previously. It numbered at this period nearly sixty houses, and had some six hundred inhabitants. There was here, as there was in every other village of the Hernhüters, a large convent of brothers and sisters. Mrs. Riedesel went every Sunday to the beautiful church. In her book she makes special mention of the fine singing of the congregation.

The two generals, Riedesel's family, adjutants and servants, formed a caravan altogether of twenty persons, and twenty horses. They all put up at the same hotel, the host of which was also a Hernhüter. This man had been so friendly and obliging on the two previous occasions of Riedesel's family stopping with him, and his bill had been so reasonable, that no bargain was made as to his price for the present party.

It was at this place, that Riedesel, who had hitherto been a

great smoker, exchanged the pipe for the snuff-box. He had always had a great antipathy against this latter habit, but he suffered so constantly from severe headaches, that his wife induced him to take snuff as a remedy. As this always relieved him, he soon became accustomed to it.

The obliging General Bland ordered Captain Randolph to accompany the two generals. He was an obliging and amiable man; and did everything to make the captives' journey as pleasant as possible. When he bade adieu to the generals at Bethlehem, they warmly thanked him for his attentions. Riedesel gave him a letter, dated October 12th, to General Washington, to whose head quarters Randolph first went. In this letter the writer praises his conduct, and thanks Washington again for his kindness. The two generals, also, took this opportunity to appeal once more to Washington, in relation to the interruption of their journey. The latter answered these letters very soon and with great courtesy; but as usual he declined using his influence and advised the writers to appeal directly to congress.

But the two generals had, nevertheless, to thank Washington for obtaining permission to go to New York, with their adjutants, the latter part of November. And, although the general exchange had again been postponed, they considered it a great blessing to go thither, as Madame Riedesel wished to be there during her confinement, and her husband expected to derive some benefit from the physicians and the favorable climate of that city.

The travelers, however, on their departure, were no little astonished at seeing the bill of their conscientious and kind appearing host. It amounted to more than four hundred guineas. The pious man *could not hide his soul.* Behind the mask of piety, he concealed an avaricious spirit. The party, moreover, would have had considerable difficulty in meeting the bill had not a firm royalist chanced to arrive at the tavern, desiring to exchange good money for paper. Perhaps, the

pious host would have taken the shining guineas at par for his bill![1]

From Bethlehem, Riedesel, with Phillips, traveled in advance of his family to New York, in order to engage suitable quarters for them. He went to Elizabethtown, and thence by boat to New York. His wife took the same route, and arrived in New York late in the evening. At the gate, she was met by a German soldier who had been sent by her husband to meet and accompany her to her future quarters. The soldier led her to a beautiful mansion, where she was shown to a room in which everything was prepared for her reception, even to a supper for herself and children. Her husband had been unable to meet her on account of having been invited that evening to the house of General Cornwallis, whence he returned very late. The house to which Mrs. Riedesel had been conducted, was the residence of General Tryon. He had placed everything at her command; and in order not to embarrass his guest, he had gone to Long island where he had a command.

Shortly after his arrival in the city, Riedesel received the following delightful letter from the hereditary prince of Brunswick:

"Right Honorable Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving, on the 10th instant, your welcome letter of the 2d of April, for which I heartily thank you. Be assured that I deeply sympathize with you in all that has happened to you during this unsuccessful American expedition; also, that I grievously lament the fate of our brave Germans, who have merited so glorious a testimony from their worthy chief. But rest assured that I do perfect justice to your conduct, your prudence and the exemplary diligence you have shown in caring for the comfort of the corps entrusted to your care, and believe me when I say that I fully appreciate the credit you have merited by your

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[1] Owing to the vast amount of paper money at that time afloat, a handsome premium was paid for coin.— *Note to original.*

active and unselfish exertions for the preservation of the corps in its present sad situation. I shall be pleased to use every opportunity in which to manifest this sentiment in your behalf, and shall be especially gratified if I can be of any service to the corps under your command.

"I wish you all success, at the same time assuring you of my entire esteem, and am

"Your excellency's

"Most obedient servant,

"CHARLES W. F.,

"Prince of Brunswick and Lüneberg.

"Shönewalde, June 11, 1778.

"P. S. We are here on the Bohemian line with the object of settling a difficulty between the king and the emperor. We have Saxons and Russians for auxiliaries, while France gives aid to Austria. This is the most important news from these parts.

"Adieu: do not forget us.

"CH. W. FR."[1]

New York, which now numbers half a million of inhabitants, had then scarcely twenty thousand, and of course presented quite a different appearance from what it does at the present time. The place was of the greatest importance to the English, and both parties fought severely for its possession. Here a large number of royalists had taken refuge from those parts where the contest raged severest, and where their party were in the minority. This, however, while it made the stay of Riedesel and his family more pleasant, made the necessaries of life much dearer. Thus, for example, a turkey cost, in German money, four thalers; a chicken, twenty groschen; six onions, one

[1] This letter, which, as will be seen, was dated June the 11th, 1778, did not reach Riedesel until November 29th, 1779; almost a year and a half after it was written.—*Note to original.*

thaler; one quart of milk, six groschen; and everything else in proportion.

The small-pox was at this time very prevalent in the city, and General Clinton, that Mrs. Riedesel and her children might have an opportunity of having themselves vaccinated, offered them his villa, an offer which was very thankfully accepted. This villa was distant an hour's walk from the city, and was furnished very comfortably. During this month Mrs. Riedesel had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the amiable General Tryon, who had shown her so much consideration in surrendering up his house, and who had now returned from Long island. She describes him as a very friendly and modest man, and gifted with the best of manners.

Upon the return of Riedesel and his family from Clinton's villa to New York, they found the house that was intended for them ready for occupation. It was furnished with everything that English elegance and comfort could devise. The furniture was of mahogany, and the floors and stairs were covered with carpets.[1] Upon Mrs. Riedesel's expressing surprise at all this outlay, she was informed that it had been done by the orders of the governor. The wealthy and respectable English families vied with each other in making the stay of the Riedesels as agreeable as possible. Particularly obliging was a certain Major Brown, who was in the commissary department, and who always considered it a privilege to attend personally to the necessities of the family. During this winter, which was terribly severe, there was a great want of fire-wood in the city; so much so, indeed, that at times no fuel could be had even for the highest price. But Major Brown had trees cut down outside of the city, and sent the wood to the Riedesels. By this timely kindness,

[1] The mention of this fact will not be considered singular by those who are acquainted with social life in Germany. As a general rule a carpet is rarely seen, even in the mansions of the wealthy. Very recently, however, innovations in this respect have begun to creep in, very much to the disgust of the conservative German.

the winter, notwithstanding other disagreeable circumstances, was passed in comparative comfort.

There is still in existence a list of the Brunswick troops as they stood at the close of the present year. It is indorsed, "Memoranda for General Phillips, given to him, in a confidential communication by General Riedesel, on the 11th of December, 1779."

"According to the last reports from Canada, the Brunswick troops, which were left there, besides those who have lately arrived, consist of:

	Officers.	Noncom. officers.	Drummers.	Privates.	Servants.	Total.
General's staff,.....	1	3		1	2	7
Regiment of Dragoons,.....	2	4		53	5	64
Battalion of Grenadiers,.....	3	18	2	103	4	130
Regiment Prince Frederick,.....	26	62	13	300	39	642
Regiment Von Rhetz,.....	6	14	3	168	7	198
Regiment Von Riedesel,.....	3	10	2	151	6	174
Regiment Von Specht,.....	3	14	2	154	6	181
Battalion Barner,.....	6	19	1	176	7	209
Total,.....	54	144	25	1306	76	1605

It should here be mentioned, that Lieutenant Dove,[1] on his journey to Canada, met, while on the St. Lawrence, two ships, having on board 580 Brunswick troops destined for Canada.

The number, therefore, including those mentioned above, would, perhaps, be as follows: 54 officers, 144 noncommissioned officers, 25 drummers, 1,886 privates, 76 servants and 2,185 men.

[1] This lieutenant, as has been already mentioned, was sent to Canada to obtain the baggage.

List of Brunswick troops in Canada, after the exchange, including those officers and others formerly belonging to the captured troops, by which the regiments in that province were reenforced.

	MEN.
General's staff,	21
Regiment of Dragoons,	282
Battalion of Grenadiers,	321
Regiment of Prince Frederick,	642
Regiment Von Rhetz,	302
Regiment Von Riedesel,	292
Regiment Von Specht,	290
Battalion Barner,	364
Total,	2,514

According to the agreement made in regard to the exchange, there were exchanged of the Brunswick troops, 67 officers, 149 servants and 113 noncommissioned officers; in all 329 men.[1]

Two noncommissioned officers only, remained with each company. Consequently, the number of troops that remained at Charlottesville, consisted of 1 lieutenant colonel, 4 captains, 17 officers, 1 chaplain, 1 physician, 4 assistant physicians, 1 auditor, 14 noncommissioned officers, 26 drummers, 788 privates and 23 servants; total, 906 men. Accordingly the number of Brunswick troops at the close of the year 1779 was as follows: 2,514 men in Canada; 329 destined for exchange; 906 men (prisoners) to remain in the barracks; 3,749 men in all.

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[1] It seems strange that there were, according to the number of officers so many servants exchanged. This was probably done with a view of facilitating the exchange of the common soldiers, there being an agreement that the servants of officers should be exchanged with their masters. There were twelve servants to a general, five to a brigadier, three to a captain and two to every one of the other officers. Only twenty-three remained with the twenty-five officers who were not exchanged; and yet their services were surely of more use to the latter than the former.— *Note to original.*

General Riedesel was especially anxious that the force in Canada should be increased, and his own corps reformed there as soon as possible. But good noncommissioned officers were particularly wanted, and he was, therefore, exceedingly desirous of effecting their exchange.

The Hesse Hanau troops in Canada consisted of the following: Regiment of infantry, 4 officers, 14 noncommissioned officers, 2 drummers, 124 privates; total, 144. Regiment of artillery, 2 noncommissioned officers, 6 privates, 1 servant; total, 9. In all, 4 officers, 16 noncommissioned officers, 2 drummers, 130 privates, 1 servant; total, 153 men.

16 officers and 40 servants (56 men), were to be exchanged. In the barracks there were to remain 1 captain, 6 officers, 1 assistant doctor, 41 noncommissioned officers, 13 drummers and 234 privates; total, 296 men.

The following is the complete list: 153 men who remained in Canada; 56 destined for exchange; 296 still prisoners of war; total, 505 men.

This, however, does not include the recruits who had in the meantime been sent into Canada.

Great as was the desire of General Riedesel to be exchanged that he might assume the command of the German troops in Canada, he was sadly disappointed at the end of the year. Neither he nor Phillips were so fortunate as to be included in the partial exchange which took place. Thus the year vanished, and with it his long cherished hope. A gloomy future was before him.

1780.

Although General Riedesel labored under severe mental and physical depression, caused in part by his great disappointment respecting his exchange, he would not allow himself to be discouraged. On the contrary, he worked assiduously to bring about a more favorable turn in his own affairs and that of his men. He had already made the personal acquaintance of several influential men of the opposite party, with whom he kept up a correspondence. The American commissioner in chief, Clinton, an honorable and upright man, esteemed him very highly; and thus he could safely count upon a final favorable result of his various exertions. Besides all this, he was sustained by the consciousness of laboring in a just cause. Notwithstanding his fiery temper, augmented by his ill health, he was careful never to overstep the bounds of prudence, and never allowed himself to be carried away by excitement. He possessed, also, too much self-control and too much judgment, not to perceive that by giving way to passion, more would be lost than gained. His friend, General Phillips, in this respect, was a good example for him;[1] indeed the considerate behavior and fine tact of the German general was of vast benefit to the former. Besides this, he was too proud to forget himself in the presence of the overbearing Americans; for although he respected a few of the latter he considered their conduct as a wicked rebellion against their rightful king and lord, and hated the intrigues and despicable action of congress and the military authorities against the royal troops and tories. He was fully aware that the cup of suffering was not yet empty, but that courage, which strengthens and elevates in misfortune, had not forsaken him.

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[1] I. e., as a warning.

At the beginning of the year Riedesel sent one of his adjutants, Lieutenant Cleve, to Brunswick to arrange some matters of great importance. This officer enjoyed his entire confidence, and, being perfectly satisfied of his faithfulness and capacity, he used him in the most difficult affairs. Cleve knew how to use the pen as well as the sword. In addition to all this, he possessed a clear head, while his tact carried him through the most intricate combinations.[1] Upon his departure, Riedesel gave him a letter of recommendation to Duke Ludwig, then at the Hague, in which he thus speaks of him:

"The talents, the military knowledge, the diligence, and the good character of Lieutenant Cleve your excellency is already acquainted with. It is, therefore, not necessary for me to repeat them here. Still, I cannot pass by in silence the humble duty I owe to your excellency in obtaining, by your recommendation, this worthy officer for my adjutant, who, in every conceivable case, has assisted me so faithfully. It is, perhaps, too bold for a person, of so little influence as myself, to recommend officers to your excellency; but the gratitude I owe to Lieutenant Cleve prompts me to go beyond the usual limits of propriety. I cannot deny that I should most sincerely and humbly thank your excellency, if Lieutenant Cleve, by your patronage, received promotion in the army; and I am convinced that he will show himself worthy, in the future, of this high favor."[2]

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[1] Cleve was in the service of the Netherlands. It is not known with certainty in what precise manner he became attached to Riedesel's staff. Duke Ludwig of Brunswick, it is said, obtained him as an adjutant for Riedesel. The latter, in a letter dated March 25th, 1780, requests the governor of the Netherlands, the prince of Orania, to prolong the furlough of his adjutant, as he was in honor bound to return to America; Cleve not having been as yet exchanged, but only allowed to go to Europe on parole.

[2] Lieutenant Cleve, although a subordinate, occupied no unimportant position. During the American war, he obtained a great knowledge of the internal affairs of that country. He occupied more the position of private secretary to General Riedesel than adjutant. After the war, he entered the Brunswick service, and died at an advanced age in that country highly honored as a staff officer.— *Note to original.*

Lieutenant Cleve, who probably in response to Riedesel's recommendation, re-

While General Riedesel was busy dispatching letters to Europe, his family affairs did not appear very consoling. His wife was delivered of a daughter on the 8th of March. He was thus once more disappointed, for so surely had he counted on a son, that he had already selected for him the name of Americus. Now, however, there being, instead of the expected heir, an unexpected heiress, the male name was changed into a female one, the little one receiving in baptism the name of America. Generals Phillips and Haldimand, together with the Hessian general, Knyphausen and the Hessian colonel, Von Wurmb, acted as godfathers to the little one, whom Riedesel, notwithstanding his disappointment, soon learned to love most fondly. A few days subsequent to the baptism, his eldest daughter was taken dangerously sick, and shortly after, the third one, Caroline, also, fell seriously ill. General Riedesel, who loved his family dearly, became, in consequence, very much alarmed, and being already greatly depressed, he fell into a state of melancholy hypochondria. It can, therefore, readily be seen that his wife had her hands full, not only in taking care of her sick children — both of whom shared her bed — but in cheering and comforting her husband. Fortunately her naturally joyous temperament enabled her to bear these misfortunes easily.

Toward the close of the winter, Tryon returned to England, taking the same ship as Lieutenant Cleve. Before his departure, he presented Mrs. Riedesel with a most beautiful set of furniture, curtains, silk tapestry, etc., with a request that she would use them for her comfort. This general was an intimate friend of Riedesel's family, having been during the whole winter a cherished friend in the family circle. Friendship in a strange land during

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turned from Germany a *captain*, brought to Riedesel the news that Burgoyne had endeavored to prejudice the public against him, by the statement that he was the cause of the defeat near Bennington, and in consequence of Saratoga. In refutation of this story, Riedesel wrote a long letter to his sovereign upon the subject. This letter I was so fortunate as to procure during my visit to Brunswick in 1857, and I accordingly give it in the appendix to this work — after the appendix to the original. W. L. S.

misfortune, and at a great distance from home, is doubly prized; and a feeling of unusual sadness came on them when they saw him take his departure. Providence, however, sent a new friend to replace the lost one. General Clinton, who was at this time in New York, was so drawn toward this German family that he also was soon a welcome guest at their fireside. At first, as is the case with every educated Englishman, it was very difficult to approach him. He was polite, but very dignified and formal. His first visit consisted of a series of ceremonies which were very burdensome to both parties. Notwithstanding, however, both Riedesel and his wife were very much pleased with him — the former esteeming him highly for his talents and honesty. Finally, Phillips, who was well acquainted with Clinton, succeeded in making him act out his natural disposition, and thus, his exterior having been thawed out, he became a most amiable and valuable friend. Upon the approach of spring, he again offered his villa to the German family, an offer which was gladly accepted.

This villa now looked very different from what it had in the winter when the trees were leafless and the fields covered with snow. The house, close by which the beautiful Hudson flowed, was surrounded by most charming gardens, clusters of trees and shady walks. Occasionally Clinton went there to make the family a visit, but always in the garb of a hunter attended by a single adjutant. Upon his last visit to them, he was accompanied by the amiable Major Andre, who soon afterward met with such a terrible fate.

Meanwhile, both Riedesel and Phillips busied themselves with the exchange of the prisoners — the former having already matured a plan for the reorganization of his men immediately upon their liberation. Phillips wished to consider the infantry regiment Riedesel, which formed a part of the second division, as belonging to the first, that it might sooner be exchanged. He, accordingly, suggested this to Riedesel knowing that he was especially interested in this regiment. But the latter was

too just to agree to it, knowing that it would be an act of injustice to the other regiments. He, however, thanked Phillips in a letter for his friendly offer, but said that the dragoon regiment, the regiment Von Rhetz, the grenadier battalion, and the light battalion had the next claim to an exchange.

The pleasant visit at Clinton's villa was clouded by the malignant fevers which, in that country, are frequent in this season of the year, but which were even worse during the present year than usual. At one time all the family of Riedesel, including the servants, were sick with the exception of his wife, the pastor, Mylius, and the faithful yäger, Rockel. The general, his little daughter Augusta, and six of his domestics were at one time at death's door. Indeed, at one period, during his illness, the former cared little whether he lived or died; for in addition to the fever he was attacked with a disease resembling cholera, which brought him very low. His powerful constitution, however, aided by the care of a skillful physician from New York, enabled him to conquer this severe attack. Mrs. Riedesel had the entire charge of this hospital, besides nursing a little infant; yet she managed to attend to the comfort of all the invalids. Day and night she ministered to the wants of her husband and servants, and neglected not her child. During the whole of this time she never undressed, but threw herself upon the bed ready to respond at a moment's notice to the call of the sick. In a word, she was the same angel that ministered to the wounded during the days of terror at Saratoga. A kind providence repaid her for her self sacrifice; and, she had the happiness of seeing her husband, her child and her servants fully restored to health.

In the beginning of May, the Hessian captain, Von Geismar, one of Riedesel's adjutants, returned to Europe, having been recently exchanged.[1] Riedesel availed himself of this opportunity to send letters and dispatches.

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[1] This Captain Geismar had been detailed on Riedesel's staff to attend to all

Toward the latter part of June, Riedesel received official news of the death of his sovereign, Duke Charles, in a letter from the latter's successor, Duke Charles William Ferdinand, under date of April 1st, 1780. He was greatly affected at this sad intelligence, for he had devotedly loved his sovereign, and had respected him for his many good qualities of heart and mind. Duke Charles was a prince who enjoyed the love of his subjects to a greater extent, perhaps, than any other of his race. Riedesel, therefore, lost no time in availing himself of another vessel, that sailed the last of June, to congratulate his new sovereign on the threshold of his reign, and to express, also, his grief at the death of the duke.

After the successful campaign of Clinton against Charleston, Riedesel expected that an exchange would surely take place; but he was again disappointed. Congress could not make up its mind to deliver up the captives, of whose possession it was not a little proud. Accordingly negotiations were begun anew, and another summer passed without anything having been accomplished toward this result.

According to a report of Colonel Specht, made the 16th of August, 1780, the number of troops at Charlottesville, was as follows: 77 officers, 142 noncommissioned officers, 25 drummers, 809 privates and 94 servants; total, 1,147 men. It appeared, also, that since the departure of Riedesel, three men had died, and no desertions had taken place.

Upon the approach of autumn, Riedesel left the beautiful villa of Clinton, and moved back to New York. Finally, in October, he received the intelligence that himself and General Phillips, with their respective adjutants, had been exchanged.

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business relating to the Hesse Hanau troops. Riedesel was much pleased with him, finding him a man of honor and reliability. After his exchange he was on the point of returning into Canada, but having received an urgent letter from his father, who was eighty years old, asking to see him once more before his death in order to arrange family matters, Riedesel obtained for him a furlough from General Phillips.— *Note to original.*

But his joy was diminished by the fact that congress had refused to exchange the rest of the captured troops.

Immediately upon his exchange, Clinton, that he might reward his services and also compliment the new duke of Brunswick, nominated Riedesel for *lieutenant general*, and that he might have a field for his activity, gave him, at the same time, a command on Long island opposite New York. Mrs. Riedesel remained for the present in the city. It will soon be seen in what condition Riedesel found his new command.

Encouraged by the victory of Clinton over General Lincoln at Charleston, General Cornwallis in October started for North Carolina; but learning that a corps, which he had sent in a more northerly direction, had been attacked and annihilated, he returned into South Carolina. Some other advantages, achieved by the Americans in the fall of this year, gave them so much encouragement that they still confidently believed in the success of their cause.

1781.

It was no small proof of the confidence which was reposed in General Riedesel that he should have been given the command on Long island. This was one of the largest islands belonging to the northern states, and was considered the bulwark of New York, at that time the most important place in the possession of the English. New York was the great depot for the stores of the army; and Long island was the main harbor for the fleet. The latter was occupied by the flower of the English troops. Scarcely any Germans were there; and the work of fortifying the place was constantly going on.

A small house was given to Riedesel for a dwelling. It was at Brooklyn, and looked out upon the bay. A strict watch was obliged to be kept, for the island being so near the main land an assault by the enemy could easily be made. Riedesel,

accordingly, sought to familiarize himself with the island. He visited all the fortified places and outposts, making here and there those alterations which struck him as necessary. The English, generally, do not like to be commanded by a foreigner; but such was the love in which they held Riedesel, that they obeyed him cheerfully. The officers, especially, vied with each other in manifesting their good will.

Meanwhile, Colonel Specht, in consequence of his growing ill health and his advanced age, asked permission to return to Europe. As Riedesel cheerfully consented, the commander in chief made no opposition. Specht, therefore, left New York in January. Riedesel availed himself of this opportunity to send off his letters and dispatches. Among these was the following answer to the hereditary prince of Hessia:

"*To his Highness, the Hereditary Prince.*

"Gracious Prince and Lord: The kind letter of your highness, of the 5th of September of last year, has awakened in me feelings of the profoundest gratitude and devotion; and the kind expressions of my future sovereign reward me a hundred fold for the little care which I have bestowed upon the troops of your highness, and which, indeed, have been amply merited by the conduct of the troops themselves. Your highness may rest assured that I shall never be weary in bestowing upon those brave troops, who have shared all the fortunes and misfortunes of our own men, the same care, attention and devotion which I give to the soldiers of his highness, my own duke. It is possible that your highness will be astonished at the result of the new measures which have been employed in behalf of the prisoners. After all possible efforts to bring about a general exchange, and the rebels having introduced — moved by an incomprehensible prejudice — the system of refusing all propositions in regard to those troops, choosing rather that their prisoners at Charleston should die than be exchanged, the English secretary of war has found it advisable to exchange all their superfluous officers and employ

them in other places. It is hoped in this way to neutralize some of the evil that has been caused by this stubborn detention.

"In pursuance of an order from the minister, the following measures have been adopted, viz: 1st. The captured troops are no longer to be considered as regiments, but as detachments. 2d. The superfluous English officers are to go to England, and, by recruiting in that country, fill up the regiments as much as possible. 3d. The superfluous German officers are to go to Canada to the detachments which were left there, and form the recruits that arrive there from time to time, into companies. According to this arrangement, 1st, one officer remains with the German troops who is to command the whole detachment. This officer is Lieutenant Colonel Von Mengen. 2d, one captain from each regiment, and 3d, one noncommissioned officer from each company. In this situation the unfortunate troops must await their future fate.

"Brigadier General Gall has, I presume, reported to your highness the names of the officers whom he has himself appointed to remain in Virginia. Part of the officers, who are to be exchanged, have already arrived here.

"General Washington, although he declined the second application, has altered his mind and agreed to an exchange. I am, therefore, in hopes that the order for an exchange will soon reach us here. In this case, I shall, after receiving orders from the commanding officer, Sir Henry Clinton, go to Canada, for the purpose of setting the troops of my gracious master to work by regiments in accordance with the instructions of his majesty the king.

"Nothing would give me more joy than to succeed in carrying out the orders of your highness. Let me receive your orders in detail upon this point.

"I remain, with the devotion becoming a subject,

"Your highness's most obedient servant,

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Brooklyn, February 20, 1781."

The next step of Riedesel was to issue a general pardon for deserters, hoping, by this means, to collect his scattered forces. It reads as follows:

"GENERAL PARDON.

"From Major General Riedesel, baron of Eisenbach, commander of the troops of his highness, the duke of Brunswick, which troops are now in the service of Great Britain.

"As there are now several noncommissioned officers and privates of the Brunswick troops, who have deserted and are now in the enemy's ranks, or are concealed in the country of the rebels, therefore, I hereby declare a full pardon to all those who shall return to the army of the king, and who shall, for this purpose, report themselves to a Brunswick officer, before the 15th of August, within the lines of the royal British army. I, also, declare that they shall be returned to their respective regiments without receiving any punishment. Given under my hand,

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Brooklyn, Long Island, February 22, 1781.

"By order of Major General Von Riedesel.

"CAPTAIN CLEVE, Aid de camp."

Although the number of deserters, who reported in consequence of this pardon, was not as large as was expected, some availed themselves of the opportunity to return to their flag. Those who did thus return were doubtless influenced, not only by the pardon, but by the immediate prospect of active military life. Many, of course, who earnestly desired it, could not leave the American army, nor the farms upon which they had hired themselves out to work. They were watched too closely; besides which, those Germans, who had gone over to the Americans, were, as a matter of course, never permitted to go into battle nor perform duty on the outposts. They were obliged to do other service in the interior of the country where there was no chance for escape.

During his stay in Brooklyn, Riedesel found many things that did not suit him. He was stationed here on an important post with strange troops under his command, while his own men were in Canada under another officer. These latter, reenforced by recruits from Germany, must be organized and drilled before they could be used against the enemy. Should he leave this work to another? But in addition to all this, the climate around New York was unfavorable to his health; he having had frequent attacks of fever during his residence there. He had more hope of recovering in Canada where the air was purer and more strengthening, and the climate of which had formerly agreed with him. He was, also, pretty well convinced that his stay in Long island would be but temporary. It was, however, his earnest wish, before leaving this part of the country and before bidding adieu to General Phillips, who had been to him such a staunch friend, to arrange all the details relating to the exchange of the captured troops in Virginia. He accordingly wrote to Phillips the following letter:

"My Lord: I beg pardon for troubling you so often with the same request. But I am very anxious that matters in Virginia should be brought to a close by means of your intercession. To me it is of the greatest importance that Captain Gerlach should arrive in Virginia to settle the accounts of the troops, before the quarter masters of the regiments who are included in the list of exchanged officers. It is, also, necessary that Captain Gerlach should return and report in regard to the result of his mission before I leave New York. This is rendered the more imperative, because, before leaving New York, I desire to send a full report to my sovereign of all agreements that have been entered into respecting the prisoners while I was in command. I am about entering upon a new sphere in Canada, and design placing myself at the head of the troops of my sovereign, who are now in that province. Taking, therefore, these motives which I have mentioned into consideration, you will, I think, find my request justifiable, and will excuse the

liberty which I take in thus constantly troubling you with the same thing.

"One thing which increases my impatience is, that you may have to leave for Virginia before all the orders and dispatches have been properly arranged. This would crush all my hopes. It would place me in an unpleasant position as regards my government of the troops; and consequently all my labors for six years would be repaid by the disapprobation of my sovereign.

"Having thus poured out my heart, nothing remains but to trust you. This I do, at the same time remaining

"With all considerate respect,

"As ever, etc.,

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Brooklyn, February 25, 1781."

General Phillips was ordered to assume command in the south. A detachment, under General Leslie, had already been sent thither by Clinton; afterwards another under Arnold, who, as senior officer, took the command of both. In March, Phillips was sent to Virginia with two thousand English troops as reenforcements. The latter immediately assumed the entire command. General Riedesel was to go north. The separation was very sad. Both, having, for so long, shared each others pleasures and pains, had become very dear friends. They, therefore, now embraced each other for the last time; for Phillips died on the 9th of May at Petersburg of a fever. In him the English army lost one of its best and most careful generals.

As soon as spring appeared Madam Riedesel, with her children, and servants, moved over to Brooklyn to be with her husband. The house in which he lived being small, she was obliged to get along with very little room. From the house, however, she had a magnificent view of the city and its harbor. The outposts were now more than ever exposed to attack; and

Major Maiborn, who had just returned from captivity, was surprised one night in his bed and carried off.[1]

The Americans were exceedingly anxious to capture Riedesel. Being well aware of this fact, however, he was very vigilant. Indeed, such was his terror of another captivity, that he only slept when sure that his wife was awake; and, as it was, he would jump out of bed at the slightest noise. Even a strong guard, which remained in the house night and day, he did not consider sufficient.

Those of the German troops who were on Long island were organized into a battalion and garrisoned at Flatbush. It was entirely officered by Germans, and was commanded by Major Lucke. Those Brunswick dragoons, also, that had been captured near Bennington and exchanged, were stationed here. Schlagenteuffel, captain of cavalry, commanded them. In a general order, dated the 29th of April, General Riedesel, among other things, says; "Captain of cavalry, Schlagenteuffel, senior, will make such arrangements at the quarters of the officers as shall guard against a surprise. At a quarter of nine each morning, the men, who were to do guard duty, gathered on the parade ground and formed into four companies. The pickets for the night turned out at the same time, but returned to the barracks after the parade. Major Lucke had charge of the parade. The men marched off to the sound of music. Roll call was at half-past six in the evening. Major Lucke was the officer in charge on these occasions also. He drilled the men with muskets, at the same time making them practice all kinds of evolutions in marching. Riedesel was generally present both at parade and roll call. At night a patrol, composed of three officers and two noncommisioned officers composed the beat. It was their duty to visit all the sentinels and posts at Brooklyn and the fort. These patrols were obliged, also, to pay special

[1] Major Maiborn, from despair and *ennui* during his captivity, became addicted to drunkenness, a vice from which he never recovered.—*Note to original.*

attention to the sailors, who were in the habit of going about drinking at the different saloons, fighting and raising a disturbance. At Yellow hook there were stationed one officer, three noncommissioned officers and twenty privates. On the 6th of May, Riedesel issued special instructions to have all the single posts well guarded. This had been hitherto neglected by the English. These instructions were headed "REGULATIONS FOR THE DIFFERENT GUARDS IN AND AROUND BROOKLYN."

As has already been remarked, Riedesel had requested General Phillips to exchange several German officers; but when the next exchange took place no Germans were included in it. Very much offended, he appealed directly to General Washington. The following correspondence in regard to it will explain itself:

GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"BROOKLYN, *April* 28, 1781.

"Sir: Several of the German officers captured at Saratoga, having appealed to me to procure their exchange on account of family affairs, I requested Major General Phillips to propose to your excellency such an exchange as would be an answer to my request. General Phillips sent me your letter in which you consent to it; in consequence of which I handed General Phillips a list of those officers whose exchange I requested. This list, he assures me, has been sent to you.

"But as all the English officers, whose exchange Major General Phillips requested, have arrived unaccompanied by a single German officer, I presume that said list has never reached your excellency; for I believe that you, sir, are governed by the same impartiality toward my nation as toward any other. I, therefore, take the liberty to reiterate the request of General Phillips, that you, sir, will have the goodness to respect the claim of those German officers who are mentioned in the list (a copy of which I here inclose), and will order those gentlemen to be sent to New York.

"Major Maiborn of my regiment of dragoons, and Ensign Maiborn of my infantry regiment belonging to his highness the duke of Brunswick, having been captured a few days since on Long island, I would consider it a proof of your excellency's kindness, if you would allow these two officers to come to New York on parole. The poor health of Major Maiborn requires special attention; and I shall do all in my power to induce his excellency Sir Henry Clinton to exchange them, provided your excellency is so kind as to give your consent.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your excellency's humble servant,

"RIEDESEL, Major General."

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR, *May* 11, 1781.

"Sir: I have received your favor of April without a date.[1] Either you must be wrongly informed in regard to the letter addressed to me by General Phillips, dated December 23d, and my answer to Sir Henry Clinton of January 25th, or you have misunderstood them. I, therefore, inclose copies of them. I only consented to an exchange of those *British* officers who are expressly mentioned in General Phillips's letter, and rejected his proposition that an indefinite number of British and German officers should be sent to New York under the superintendence of Brigadier General Hamilton.

"Some time after this, other propositions, under date of March 3d, were made to me, having reference to other exchanges, among which were those German officers whom you have mentioned. These propositions were submitted to me through my commissioner general of prisoners, but which I did not consider it advisable to accept, as I was convinced that the

[1] In the original draft, the date, April 28th, is given. This was probably omitted in the copy by Riedesel's secretary, by mistake.— *Note to original.*

exchange of Lieutenant General Burgoyne would be unreasonably long postponed. My answer and instructions in regard to this clause have been given at length through Messrs. Skinner and Loring.

"Even if I were inclined to be partial to the British officers, it would be impossible to do so, since the selection of those exchanged is not left to me.

"As regards your special request, I have given orders that Major and Ensign Maiborn should be sent to New York on parole.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"WASHINGTON."

GENERAL RIEDESEL TO THE HEREDITARY PRINCE OF HESSIA.

"*To his Highness the Hereditary Prince of Hessia.*

"Gracious Prince and Lord: Since my letter to your highness, under date of April 28th, I have been pained to learn from the report of Lieutenant Colonel Von Mengen, who, after the departure of the colonel and brigadier general, has taken the command of the captured Brunswick troops, that congress has finally taken the treacherous step of entirely annulling the treaty by separating the officers from the noncommissioned officers and privates, and prohibiting all communication between them. It has, also, cut down the usual rations for each man to one-fourth, and has taken them entirely from the officers and servants.

"This unfortunate change, which must result in obliging the privates thus left to themselves to obtain sustenance by working around the country, occurred during the month of April. All of the German officers are at present at Winchester in Virginia within a circumference of ten English miles. The privates are four English miles from the latter place, living in the woods in huts which they were generally obliged to build for themselves.

"In spite, also, of all the representations which have been made, congress has forbidden any officer to visit the men; and the question whether or not a regimental surgeon shall be permitted to attend on the sick, will not probably be decided before the middle of next month.

"I see by the report of Lieutenant Colonel Von Mengen, that he knew as early as the 22d of April of Captain Gerlach's arrival in Virginia. This officer brings money, clothing, uniforms and other articles to the troops, a circumstance which will be of no small consolation to this unfortunate corps in its present lamentable situation.

"As the officers have been rendered powerless, by this breach of faith of congress, to continue their praiseworthy efforts for the care of the troops, I have asked of his highness, my sovereign, permission to leave one officer with each regiment, whose duty it shall be to see that the men receive what articles the general in chief, Sir Henry Clinton, may allow to be forwarded from time to time to this corps. I have also asked him whether it would not be best to have all the other officers exchanged and made use of in places where they can be made available to the service. As I cannot expect his answer while in New York, I have requested him to send his reply direct to Lieutenant Colonel Mengen, and at the same time to inform the commanding general at this post in regard to his wishes.

"As long as it lies in my power to extend to this corps, and the other troops of your highness a helping hand, be it ever so little, I shall always consider it one of my most sacred duties to do so. This much I should feel obliged to do from the deep reverence and great attachment I feel toward a prince whose troops have been faithful companions in our alas! general misfortune.

"With the heartfelt assurance of my deepest devotion,

"I remain your highness's

"Most obedient servant,

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Brooklyn on Long island, May 9, 1781."

It has been seen by a letter mentioned a little way back from Riedesel to Phillips, that the former had requested the American government for a flag of truce under which Captain Gerlach might visit Virginia. The reasons, also, which induced Riedesel to hasten this matter, have also been adverted to. General Phillips not only attended to this request of the German general, but procured from Washington a pass for Gerlach to Virginia. The latter took with him money, clothing and other necessary articles for the troops who were literally destitute of everything; and his visit, therefore, could not be postponed.

The pass from General Washington read "as far as the coast of Virginia." At this point, Captain Gerlach was directed to apply to the governor of the province, General Jefferson, who, he was told, would arrange matters in regard to the transportation of the supplies by land as far as Winchester. Gerlach, accordingly, applied to the governor; but the latter raised so many objections that he was forced to write to Riedesel for further instructions. The German general, who was no little embarrassed by these repeated delays, at once wrote on the 3d of June, to General Cornwallis requesting him as the nearest general to Governor Jefferson, to attend to the matters of Gerlach. Cornwallis immediately entered into the affair with the greatest zeal, and with so much success that Gerlach finally reached Winchester with his supplies. He found the troops in a very miserable plight, living in huts, and in want of everything. The English troops were at Yorktown.

On the 6th of June, Riedesel wrote from Brooklyn to Brigadier General Specht in Canada, as follows: "I cannot blame you, my brother,[1] if you should believe that I had been buried long since or had forgotten my Canadian friends. But never in my life, have I seen so little intercourse between two provinces so near together as Canada and New York. I verily believe that I could easier send a letter to Batavia than to Canada."

[1] I. e., brother in arms.

Riedesel had now been a long time in readiness to start for Canada with forty officers and four hundred men, but the necessary escort was wanting. This was to have consisted of a frigate; but the British admiral appeared loth to furnish one. The Hessian colonel, Von Gall, had already left New York for Germany, when Riedesel received from the hereditary prince, the letter dated April 18th. Colonel Gall was very unkindly received by the prince in consequence of having left America without permission. This action of the prince, however, also arose from his having heard that Gall had been partial in his conduct of his men, and had embezzled money. This is seen by the following letter from the prince to Riedesel:

"HANAU, *April* 18, 1781.

My very dear Major General: The especial kindness which you constantly manifest toward me and my soldiers, and for which my warmest thanks are continually due you, leads me to hope that you will not conceal from me in any particular, the conduct of Colonel Von Gall, who has been so long under your command, and who has returned without my permission. He is accused of retaining money and appropriating it to his own use, and also of partiality. It is even said that he was tried by a commission in Canada. Since it is incumbent upon me to go to the bottom of this matter, and since this officer by all appearances seems guilty, I conjure you to send me a speedy answer regarding this whole matter. Keep nothing from me; but give me a special proof of your interest in my men, who have been so unfortunate and so abused. I ask you to do me this favor as an old Hessian, and for the good of the service.

"In real friendship and high esteem,

"I remain your sincere and true friend,

"WILLIAM, Hereditary Prince of Hessia.

"P. S. I send a copy of this letter to New York, not knowing whether or not you have left there for Canada.

"To General Von Riedesel, Canada."

General Riedesel, who had not suspected anything of this kind, was very much astonished at the contents of this letter. After examining the case, he returned the following answer to the prince:

"To his most serene Highness, the Hereditary Prince.

"Gracious Prince and Lord: The kind letter of your most serene highness of April 18th, I had the honor of receiving by the packet the latter part of last month. I am extremely sorry that your highness was so much displeased at the return of Colonel Von Gall. I hope that my letter of June 6th will excuse my having been the seeming instrument of his return by having obtained for him the required permission for that step.

"Your highness requests me, in a very gracious manner, to send you a report of the conduct of Colonel Gall, and also an account of those transactions in Canada, by which the regiment is said to have suffered. In response to this request, I can only say that all orders have been invariably obeyed by the troops under Colonel V. Gall in the most faithful manner; and if troubles have occasionally occurred, they have arisen rather from want of knowledge of our situation, or by fear, perhaps, of sacrificing some of the national prerogatives of the troops of your highness than from other reasons. Such cases have always been speedily arranged whenever Colonel Von Gall has consulted me. Very likely, also, Gall has not always considered it to be for the interest of your highness to follow the advice of the commander of another nation.

"But it is my duty to bear witness to the good intentions of Colonel Von Gall in his efforts to arrange pecuniary matters; and although differences between him and the late General Phillips occasionally arose, yet by my and the latter's explanations they were always settled. I am not prepared to say that Colonel Gall was always wrong on such occasions, but his demands were at times not in accordance with the situation of

affairs. Everything, however, has invariably been settled in an amicable manner; and Gall parted from Phillips and myself on the best of terms. Not, however, to be too lengthy in my answer, I must respectfully ask your highness to inquire further of Captain V. Geismer, who is perfectly familiar with these transactions, and who, I feel confident, will confirm that which I have here written.

"As regards the matter of the provisions in Canada, the investigation of which was committed to me by General Sir Guy Carleton at Berthier in that province, I can only give you a correct report by sending you the documents. But as they are with my baggage in Canada, I cannot send you a complete report in regard to the matter until my arrival in said province. I will then do so. For the present, I will only remark that this affair appears to be very disadvantageous to Colonel Gall; and, further, I may say, that had any one other than myself investigated this matter, it would have turned out very badly for the colonel; for it was evident that the provisions had been distributed among the troops at a smaller weight than had been ordered by General Carleton, and that the inhabitants complained at being obliged to provide for the soldiers at this rate. But when I consider, on the other hand, that one and a half pounds of meat and one and a half pounds of bread was more than a soldier could eat, and that Gall intended to accumulate a regimental fund for unforeseen cases — such as frequently occurred among the Brunswick troops — I consider him only to blame for not foreseeing the danger which was connected with this act, no matter how good was his intention.

"Upon my arriving at Berthier in order to begin the investigation, it looked at first as if the colonel intended to deny the matter. Seeing, however, that I commenced the investigation in an earnest, but impartial spirit, he confessed the truth, and stated the cause which led him to act in this manner. From that moment I changed the whole course of the investigation, and advised the inhabitants to compromise the matter. Cap-

tain Geismar assisted Colonel Gall in fully satisfying the inhabitants. The latter appeared before the authorities and took back their complaints, saying, that they were satisfied; and some even went so far as to ask the forgiveness of Colonel Gall for having lodged complaints against him with the commanding generals. Thus, the affair was settled. My report was sent to the commanding general without the minutes of the investigation, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the result of the commission. I have never cared to ascertain the amount paid to the inhabitants. Colonel Von Gall will doubtless be able to furnish your highness with the most satisfactory explanations regarding his conduct, of which nothing can be learned from the documents themselves.

"I here state to your highness that Admiral Graves has at last concluded to convey us to Canada. The troops will be embarked day after to-morrow, and I hope we shall sail before the end of this month. As soon as I arrive in Canada, I shall again report regarding this matter to your highness.

"The commanding general, Sir Henry Clinton, has communicated to me an order from your highness, addressed to all captured officers, commanding them to embark for Canada at the first possible moment, and cautioning them against returning to Germany without permission. Being unable to do anything more toward the execution of this order, on account of my departure, I shall request Lieutenant General Von Knyphausen to inform the troops of your highness arriving here of your wishes.

"Hoping to enjoy a continuance of your favor,

"I remain, your highness's devoted and

"obedient servant,

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Brooklyn, July 19, 1781."

We may state in explanation of the above letter, that this investigation took place while the troops were yet in Canada.

The soldiers were those mostly quartered on the inhabitants, to whom they sold their rations, and by whom they were boarded in exchange. The soldiers were also furnished with rice, flour and other articles; and the inhabitants, having, in Colonel Gall's opinion, the advantage, he desired to turn the scale in favor of his men by cutting down those rations which the inhabitants received from the soldiers, hoping to turn the surplus into money out of which a fund could be created for the benefit of the men in unforeseen emergencies. Colonel Gall had taken this idea from the Brunswickers, who had a reserve fund of this nature made up by the monthly contributions of the men, a small amount being deducted from their regular monthly pay. Economy was at that time an especial characteristic of the Brunswick troops; and in their order and excellent self-control the soldiers of that period set an example to the ones of the present day. Riedesel paid particular attention to the administration of the finances, always keeping a strict watch over the welfare of his men.

This affair of Colonel Gall attracted great attention, not only in Hessia, but throughout Germany. It was even discussed in the public journals. The philanthropical howlers who were grumbling so continually about "soul selling," sought to make capital of this case for their side by expatiating upon the dreadful way in which the poor soldiers were treated, by being cut down in everything. The compiler of this work has, therefore, considered it his duty to quote the documents referring to this case, in order to remove all stain from the name of so meritorious and honorable an officer, and also again to show how well the German troops were cared for.

At length, the English admiral furnished the necessary number of ships for the voyage to Canada. On the 22d of July, General Riedesel, with his family and suit went on board of the transport Little Deal, in which they were to make the journey. Although they were very desirous to start for Canada, the parting from so many of their friends, who had shown them

such great kindness, and to whom they were warmly attached, was very sad. The English government, also, had acted nobly toward them up to the last moment; for the general was solicited to take with him all of the costly furniture it had given him, for his house in Canada. Nor would the authorities take back the wood which was left of what they had furnished him. This amounted to about thirty cords, and was of great value at this time. But the German general was not the man to put himself under obligations to others if he could avoid it. He, therefore, sent the furniture to the magazine, and distributed the wood among some needy families, whose blessings followed him on his departure.

General Clinton, who particularly regretted the departure of this German family, and, therefore, desired to make their voyage as pleasant and comfortable as possible, himself arranged the details of their journey. He sent for the agent of the ship, and especially enjoined him to select for their use, the best sailing vessel, and accompany the travelers himself. The latter was rich in promises, but the result soon showed that Clinton had not been very fortunate in the selection of his man. The vessel was a very poor one, and the captain an exceedingly ignorant and uncouth fellow, who grew more discourteous the further he got from New York. In consequence of a contrary wind, the ship was forced to remain at anchor eight days near the city; and when the flotilla finally got under way it was discovered that the vessel, containing Riedesel and family, was the poorest one of all. It was a poor sailer, and actually had to be towed by one of her consorts. Neither were there men enough on this vessel to man her properly, and she was consequently often in danger of being capsized by gales of wind. In addition to all this, the ship sprang a leak thus compelling the pumps to be constantly worked. A hostile attack was, moreover, continually to be feared; and had such an event occurred and the flotilla been compelled to flee, the ship, on which was the general, would undoubtedly have been the first one to fall into the

hands of the enemy. And as a climax to the whole the agent, who by the orders of Clinton accompanied the travelers, and whose expenses were paid by them, was a very unpleasant and uneducated man. Indeed he was more of a burden than a help, and rendered himself exceedingly disagreeable during the entire passage.

The flotilla encountered difficulties of all kinds. Madam Riedesel was taken ill; and the general ill health of her husband was greatly increased by the voyage. The fleet put in for a little while at Halifax. General Riedesel and family went on shore and paid a visit to the governor, who received them in a most friendly manner, and invited them to dinner. This attention they accepted; and the next day, they were taken by their host all over the city and island and shown everything that was worth seeing.

From Halifax the voyage was stormy, but the mouth of the St. Lawrence was reached without accident. Before reaching Quebec, the general issued the following order to the German troops in Canada, and sent it in advance by his adjutant:

"ON BOARD THE LITTLE DEAL, before
Quebec, *September* 10, 1781.

"Major General Von Riedesel announces to the Brunswick troops in Canada, his arrival in the province after an absence of four years — a period spent in misery, chagrin and all possible discomfort. He has left the rest of the captured troops in this sad condition, and without the least hope of a speedy liberation. The general feels intense joy at the near prospect of once more seeing those troops whom at all times he has considered his friends; and he is confident of finding among them the same willinguess, punctuality and zeal in the service which they have shown of old. He will consider it a real pleasure if he can do anything for the welfare or pleasure of the troops, either as a body or as individuals.

"For the present and until further orders, all reports, lists,

applications, etc., are to be sent to Brigadier General Von Specht, until the general is more acquainted with the circumstances, and until the duration of his stay and his future destination is known to him.

"RIEDESEL, Major General."

Upon his arrival in Quebec, Riedesel called first upon the governor, General Haldimand, to report himself. He was received in an extremely cordial and friendly manner.

General Haldimand had been described to Riedesel as a sour looking and morose man, and of a very unsocial disposition. The latter, however, was too much of an adept in human nature to allow such reports to prejudice his estimate of any man. At the first interview, therefore, he met Haldimand openly; and the latter, who was in truth, somewhat morose, soon grew more friendly and talkative until the two generals finally parted, each well pleased with the other.

General Haldimand had little intercourse with the inhabitants of Quebec. He lived more for himself and the company of his officers. During his stay of four years he had refitted the old government building and refurnished it, so that Riedesel found it a palace in comparison with what it had been formerly. The most beautiful gardens now surrounded it, filled with choice fruit trees. The building itself was also most splendidly situated upon an eminence from which there was a charming view.

Riedesel tarried only long enough in Quebec to rest himself from the fatigues of the voyage. He then accompanied Haldimand to Sorel (he was to assume command) leaving, meanwhile, Mrs. Riedesel and the children for the present at Quebec. The governor expressed his sorrow at being unable to give him a suitable house in Sorel where at the best he would suffer from the want of many comforts; "but," continued he, "it is a very important post, and I wished it intrusted to you." Haldimand, however, did the best he could for the German general's comfort. He bought a house there that happened to be in course

of construction, with the understanding that it should be finished by Christmas.

Sorel, next to Montreal, was, undoubtedly, the most important place in Canada. Here emptied the upper St. Lawrence and the Chambly river (Richelieu) and the Lake St. Pierre. Sorel was the key to the latter river and Lake Champlain. Further to the east the Yamaska emptied into the latter lake so that Sorel in fact held the estuaries of three rivers. The holding of the fort at this place was thus of the greatest importance to the royal troops. Riedesel visited the quarters of the German soldiers; and having ascertained their position and strength, entered at once upon the work of organization.

The first thing he did was to form his troops in the following manner: The grenadiers — there not being a sufficient number of these to form a battalion — were divided into companies and distributed among the infantry regiments. Of these, the regiment of Rhetz was the weakest, and therefore received, in addition to the company of grenadiers, one company from the regiment of Prince Frederick. The companies were now not more than half as strong as formerly, and there being also a lack of officers, each company received only one sergeant who commanded it, one quarter master, one *captain d'armes*, and three corporals. But even with this arrangement, there was still a great deficiency in officers, which had to be made up by exempts at times performing the duties of vice-corporals, for which service they received additional pay. The grenadier regiment was still weaker, for it had even fewer noncommissioned officers to each company, viz: one sergeant, one noncommissioned officer who performed the duties of quarter master and took the place of a *captain d'armes*, and two corporals. The subaltern officers were also equally distributed among the companies. The commanders of regiments were apportioned as follows: 1st. The regiment of dragoons, Captain of Cavalry Von Schlagenteuffel, Sen.: 2d. Regiment of Prince Frederick, Lieutenant Colonel Praetorius: 3d. Regiment Von Rhetz, Lieutenant

Colonel Von Ehrenkrook: 4th. Regiment Von Riedesel, Lieutenant Colonel Von Hills: 5th. Regiment Von Specht, Major Von Lucke: 6th. Light infantry battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Von Barner.[1]

The troops in Canada were distributed in their various winter quarters, by a general order of Haldimand, dated October 8th, 1781, in the following manner:

1st. The troops, under Major General Clark, were stationed at Quebec, on the Island Orleans, between St. Paul's bay and Machiche, on the north side, and from Camaraska as far as Lake St. Paul on the south side of the St. Lawrence.

2d. The troops, under Major General Von Riedesel, occupied the space from Bacancourt to Point au Fer on the north side of Lake Champlain, and from La Prairie to Sorel.

3d. The troops, under Brigadier General Von Speth, with the exception of those at the south side of the St. Lawrence, were at Montreal and Machiche, and on the north side of Cote au de Lac as far as La Prairie.

4th. The Canadian Indians were under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, and the Mohawks under Colonel Claus.[2]

5th. The command of the fleet on Lake Champlain was given to Captain Chambers.

After all these apportionments had been accomplished, General Riedesel went on a tour of inspection among the different bodies of his troops.

In November he again traveled over his district; and on his return, the 1st of December, he wrote General Haldimand from Sorel, the following letter:

(Private).

"Sir: By the accompanying report, your excellency will see that I have returned from visiting my district. By it you will

[1] The general order in regard to this, is dated at Quebec, October 20, 1781.

[2] Colonel Daniel Claus; son-in-law and nephew of Sir William Johnson.

also be informed of the workings of the different orders I have issued from time to time. I selected a poor time for my journey (the 30th of November and the 1st of December). I had terrible weather; and I was five hours on the road between La Prairie and the traverse of Longueil, a distance of two and a half leagues. I did not meet Colonel St. Leger. He had gone on private business from St. John to Montreal; but Captain Forbes, being a very intelligent officer, I have arranged everything with him as well as if I had seen the colonel. I was ready both on Wednesday and the day following to go to Quebec, but the letter of your excellency of the 29th, makes it necessary for me to remain here, until I have received from you further orders.

"Your excellency will remember that Sir Henry,[1] on my departure from New York, expected Count de Grasse with fifteen or twenty thousand men, who was to unite with General Washington and Count Rochambeau in an attack on that city. At that time Sir Henry had not more than eleven thousand men. Nevertheless, he requested me to tell your excellency that he had no fears for New York, but, on the contrary, was ready to meet the enemy. At present he has a fleet of twenty-two ships of the line, twenty-five hundred more German troops, and three additional English regiments. The enemy have only twenty-four ships; and the number of land troops, brought by De Grasse, do not amount in all probability to more than four thousand, a large part of whom have returned to the island. Thus the situation of Sir Henry is much better now than it was at the time of my departure. These, your excellency, are the grounds upon which I base my hope that the enemy are in no position to undertake anything successfully against New York, and that a great many of them will be punished for their audacity. Your excellency is acquainted with the situation of New York. If the enemy intend attacking it, it will be necessary

[1] Clinton.

for them either to take Kingsbridge — at present an extremely well fortified place both by nature and by art — or divide their troops into several corps and attack Long island, Staten island and Paul's hook. In the first case a force of 18,000 men will be necessary to undertake the attack on King's bridge, besides a second force for the position of MacCowen's pass which is still better fortified. In the second case, if the forces are divided it will give Sir Henry a favorable opportunity to meet them singly, an easy matter, since we have the necessary number of small vessels to convey our men to a place which it would take the enemy two or three days to reach by land. If the rumor is true that the enemy intend to attack New York, I believe that your excellency will have in a short time, intelligence which will, in some degree, counterbalance the misfortunes in Virginia.

"Madam Riedesel feels very much flattered at your remembrance of her, and sends her best respects. The inclement season of the year retards operations on our house, but I hope we will be able to move into it at the end of two weeks. It will give Madam Riedesel much joy to furnish a room for you in our house, and nothing will give us more pleasure than to have you as our guest.

"Next Monday I shall go to Yamaska and St Francois, to arrange the new quarters of the men. Should those two places be too full, I shall report, on my return, to your excellency.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Sorel, December 3, 1781."

And in his report to which he alludes in this letter under the same date, Riedesel says: "Day before yesterday, the first of the month, I returned from visiting my district. The 44th Regiment had just gone into winter quarters, one company having been sent to the parish of Point Olivier where I spent the night. I have instructed the commanding officer to pay

special attention to the inhabitants, and to see to it that no stranger comes within the parish without his knowledge; and, further, that none of the inhabitants stay away from here without his being informed of it. The officer has promised me to attend not only to this, but to the guarding of his district.

"The fleet of Commodore Chambers, I have found in a good position. The Royal George, the Inflexible, and the Lady Mary protect one another by the direction of their guns, at the same time that they cover the sides of the fort. Each of the three large ships is surrounded by palisades erected on a wall of snow; while a line of the same material covers all the other vessels which, according to their size, are so posted that it will be impossible to attack them without a large number of guns, and still more impossible to approach sufficiently near to set fire to them.[1]

"The fortifications of St. John are still in the same condition in which your excellency found them last fall, with this exception, that the great traverse, which runs behind the fort, is now ten feet higher; but the heavy frosts hinder the completion of the work. The garrison appear very watchful, especially at night. In the Savanne I have posted one noncommissioned officer with ten men from the regiment of Hesse Hanau for the purpose of keeping a strict watch on the inhabitants. Thence I went to the prairie, where I met the Hesse Hanau chasseurs, who have gone into winter quarters and hold the parish of Chateau Gay.[2] I have given orders to Captain Casten Dyk, in respect to the conduct of the inhabitants — desiring him to prevent hostile emissaries coming into the parish, as I believe that the rebels have in this way kept up their correspondence with the disloyal in Montreal. Captain Casten Dyk appears to me, to be an intelligent officer, and I hope he will not disap-

[1] Lake Champlain and the river were frozen, thus rendering an attack easier. The ships had been, therefore, drawn out on to the land and fortified in the above named manner.

[2] Hence the name Chatauque, which is not of Indian origin as is generally supposed.

point my expectations. On my return I visited the quarters of the royalists, both at Bergere and Canton-cœur.[1] Major Nern was just making preparations to organize these troops anew.

"Everything is now settled in the district with which your excellency has entrusted me; and I hope it has been done according to your wishes. The regiment Rhetz is the only one that has not yet gone into its quarters. I received the command of your excellency to give this regiment orders to march on the 22d of November; but the rivers Yamaska and St. Francois having in the meantime partially frozen over, and being, therefore, impassable, I ordered it to march on the north bank, and cross the great river near Point au Lac. The regiment, accordingly, marched on the 25th, and arrived on the 28th, at Machise and Point au Lac; but the river being no longer passable, the regiment remained, on the 29th, this side of it. Colonel Carleton, who has gone to Trois Rivieres, has promised me to assist this regiment over the river if it is a possible thing, but if it is not, then to have it quartered, with the permission of the inhabitants, where it now is, until the ice is sufficiently firm to allow of its crossing. This, however, is of no consequence, as all its rations are drawn from Trois Rivieres. After considering these circumstances, your excellency, will, I am sure, give me credit for endeavoring to carry out your orders, having only been prevented from so doing by the sudden appearance of the frost and cold.

"The detachment of Captain Rippenhaus crossed the Yamaska and Francois on the 21st and 22d. I doubt not, that by this time, it has arrived at the quarters of its regiment.

"I shall visit the two companies of Barner, at Yamaska and Francois, and if I find that there are too many troops in the former parish, or that it is discommoded by the company which

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[1] The royalists were a corps of volunteers, under Major Nerne, and consisted chiefly of Englishmen and Canadians.

is in garrison at that place, I will endeavor to arrange everything according to the wishes of your excellency.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"RIEDESEL, Major General."

Meanwhile, General Riedesel had anxiously watched the movements of Lord Cornwallis in the southern provinces, for upon the result of these depended the weal or woe of the captured troops in Virginia. If that general's operations were successful, the Germans would be immediately liberated; if not, no one could tell how long they would remain in misery. Riedesel was, at this time, therefore, in constant communication with Cornwallis, and followed his every step with intense interest. In a letter to the latter, he congratulates him upon his victories, especially those near Camden (August 25th, 1780), near Guildford over Green (March 15th, 1781), and the one near Jamestown over Lafayette (July 6th, 1781). In consequence of these successful engagements, he expected without doubt, the complete subjugation of Virginia. But events suddenly took an unexpected turn. Washington, with a view of preventing Cornwallis from being supported, succeeded, by spreading rumors, in making Clinton fearful of an attack on New York — than which, however, nothing was at that time further from the intentions of the Americans. The American commander also, was successful shortly after in cutting off the communications of Cornwallis with Clinton, and forcing the former to surrender at Yorktown, on the 19th of October, with 6,000 prisoners. When Riedesel received the first intelligence of this disaster, he could not credit it. He considered it impossible for such a misfortune to happen to so brave a corps under so talented a leader. But when the rumor was confirmed, he gave up all hope; for now nothing could be expected from such an arrogant foe, but more severe and brutal treatment of the captured troops.

But besides the loss of so many brave troops, the British

were now rendered utterly powerless to concentrate their remaining forces. Offensive measures were of course abandoned. They were doing well to preserve the few men that were left to them. The Americans, on the contrary, increased rapidly in confidence and numbers. A crisis had evidently been reached on the eventful day of October the 19th. The fortunes of the contending parties were then and there decided.

According to a report, carefully prepared by Captain Cleve, the strength of the Brunswick troops in America, on the 1st of December, 1781, was as follows:

	Men.
In Canada,	2,520
Imprisoned in Virginia,	1,053
Other prisoners,	325
Total,	3,898

Up to this time 405 men had been lost, in killed and desertions. The troops in Canada were greatly in need of commissioned and noncommissioned officers, there being only 74 of the former with the regiments.

From the letters of Riedesel already quoted, it has been seen that he paid as much attention to the enemy within his district as without. And he had certainly good reasons for his conduct. It was evident that the Americans spared no effort to revolutionize those northern provinces, that had hitherto remained faithful to the English. There were, however, a few in those provinces who at heart sympathized with the American cause, while apparently they were good royalists. Moreover, since the turn affairs had taken in the south, there was a still greater necessity for caution. Immediately after the capitulation of Cornwallis, printed placards were distributed among the inhabitants of Canada, which stated plainly that the dominion of the English was now at an end. Hence, at any moment the spark hidden in the ashes might break out into a flame. Both Haldimand and Riedesel exerted every effort to destroy and suppress these incendiary placards, and prevent the standard of

rebellion being raised. Of this latter event, however, there was not much fear, as Canada, in comparison with the southern provinces, was thinly populated, and its cities, with the exception of Quebec, sparsely peopled. But the American commanders were now free to operate against the northern countries. A larger district was therefore given to Riedesel. His command included the garrisons of the most important forts between the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu, and from Montreal to Point au Fer as far up as Sorel on Lake St. Pierre. Notwithstanding the severity of the winter and his ill health, Riedesel was always "on the go." This continual activity was necessary to keep the troops constantly on the alert, and to forward as rapidly as possible the works around the forts. He also built several strong log block houses in different places. In all this he was ably seconded by General Haldimand.

As before stated, the generals were obliged to maintain a strict watch over the inhabitants. They were therefore forced to employ measures to which they would have objected in less critical times.

A regular system of espionage was now introduced, that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty. Haldimand accordingly issued orders to the higher grades of officers, that lists of all the inhabitants should be secretly made out, giving, beside the name, the political leanings of individuals. Those who were in any way suspected, were particularly watched. This work was intrusted to noncommissioned officers and privates. Besides this, there were spies who sneaked about villages minding every one's business but their own. As a result of this system of spying, the prisons in the fortified towns were filled in a short time. Among other things, Haldimand writes to Riedesel the following: "I fear that there are too many of these kind of people in this province; and as there is a great lack of room to keep the prisoners, I desire that no more persons be arrested, unless there is a well founded suspicion against them."

The loyal inhabitants of those provinces held by the enemy,

considered Canada or New York city as the only safe place of refuge. Many left all their valuables behind them to escape the abuse of the rough militia, and if they had been too outspoken they fled for their lives. Such fugitives were received by the government in the most friendly manner. They were assisted and often had money advanced to them in case of need. The commanders of the different districts were obliged to keep lists of all such refugees as well as of those who were suspected. This was necessary, so great was the fear that every stranger might be an emissary of the enemy or a secret spy.

1782.

General Riedesel with his family moved into the new house a few days before Christmas. It had been carefully prepared for his reception by his thrifty wife. Some English officers, who had been invited in, helped the German family to celebrate the holidays which were thus observed partly in the English and partly in the German manner. Under the illuminated Christmas tree, was placed the Christmas pie, an article inseparable among Englishmen from this festivity. The house, it is true, was very new; the trees of which it had been built having stood in the woods but six months previously. There was, however, in this, nothing unusual, as the Americans, even at that time, built with a celerity of which we in staid old Germany have no conception. As a matter of course, the walls were very thin; and it often happened that houses constructed in such a hasty manner were blown down by a storm. The house, occupied by Riedesel at Sorel, contained a dining, a sitting and a bed room for the general; a room and bed room for his wife; and a general reception, or drawing room. On the upper floor were four rooms, two of which were occupied by the servants. Two covered walks led from the house to the kitchen and wash house, the guard room being over the latter. The house was not in the village of Sorel proper, but about fifteen minutes walk in the

suburbs. and so close to the outposts that six men of the guard were stationed every night in the hall to act as sentinels.

The winter was severe: the snow was deep; and the rivers and lakes were frozen so hard that they could be crossed in all directions. This circumstance rendered caution additionally necessary; and Riedesel accordingly visited the posts and forts even more frequently than usual. He generally made these visits in a sleigh accompanied by one adjutant and a servant. The Canadian driver always drove very fast; so that the general got over much ground every day.

Riedesel and family would have been nearly cut off from all intercourse with the outside world, had it not been for the friendly offices of General Haldimand, who kept them informed by letters and newspapers of all the important events which occurred both in Europe and in America. With the exception of New Holland, this war was carried on in all parts of the world; for where did not the two most powerful nations on the water have possessions and commercial interests? Accordingly, we find General Riedesel carrying on an extensive correspondence with the most influential men of the time upon those topics which filled every mind. Space, however, will not permit us to quote but two of these letters.

General Riedesel to General Haldimand.

Letter No. I.

"I thank your excellency most warmly for the papers which I herewith have the honor of returning to you. Like your excellency, I, also, take great interest in the unhappy events which have taken place during the last year, and indeed, are still hanging over our heads. I am as much interested in them as if they had occurred in my own fatherland. Only powerful alliances or a miracle can make good our losses. I fairly believe that Washington and Rochambeau intend marching on Canada, unless, indeed, the French minister has his eyes on another pro-

vince — a matter, which will be decided in a few months. If the army of your excellency falls a victim to our misfortunes, your arrangements will prevent its selling itself too cheaply.

"No one has conversed with me in relation to the sad fate of Lord Cornwallis. I notice that everybody is careful not to allude to it in my presence.

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"St. John, February 25th, 1782."

Letter No. II.

"Sir: I have the honor of thanking your excellency for the news which you were so kind as to send me, and which is even more interesting than the last. It seems to me that there is no doubt that Washington and Rochambeau entertain the idea of beginning the next campaign in Canada. I am convinced of this from the following reasons: 1st, that the Frenchman may no longer be dependent on the orders of Washington. 2d, that he may separate his troops from those of the rebels. 3d, that he may, if successful, achieve a separate conquest. I presume however, that this expedition will not be undertaken without the consent of his government. Nevertheless, the preparations now making, indicate a very earnest attack. One thing, however, appears to me very singular, viz: that one report states that the French troops are fortifying themselves at Yorktown in Virginia, and another says that they are doing the same thing at Claverac near Albany. I very much doubt if Rochambeau would thus separate his men. You will, also, I trust, pardon me if I suggest that two good emissaries be at once sent down the Connecticut river as far as Hartford and Springfield, for the purpose of ascertaining what arrangements have been made by the enemy on the shores of that river, and whether there are any French troops at those places. Indeed, I should not be surprised at learning that the head quarters of Rochambeau were at Hartford. Washington's head quarters being on the Hudson and his army in that vicinity, I take it for granted

that the French form the second line on the Hudson as far as the Connecticut, and that the enemy are awaiting in that position further orders from France.

"I rejoice with all my heart that your excellency is intending to visit this place shortly; and I await your arrival with the greatest impatience. You will then be on hand, should the enemy undertake anything; while at the same time, your presence will encourage the loyal, and put an end to all quarrels and bickering.

"General Clark leaves me to-morrow. I shall accompany him as far as Besancourt, and on my return, inspect the regiment Rhetz. General Clark has seen all that he came to see; and if he has a military memory, may have acquired a general knowledge of the country.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"RIEDESEL, Major General.

"Sorel, March 4, 1782."

"REPORT.

"SOREL, *March* 4, 1782.

"I have the honor of reporting to your excellency that I returned with General Clark from St. Johns last Friday, the 1st of this month. I went as far as the royal log block house, where I met Captain Sherwood, who has taken every measure in his power to guard against a surprise. The situation of the block house is very good, but the house itself far from it; and I greatly fear that in case of an attack, it would not hold out long. I refer you here to the report of Captain Twiss, which he has sent in, in regard to this matter. It is very difficult to send aid to this place. I believe Captain Sherwood, with his capacity, would be apprised of an intended attack sufficiently early; and I think it would be better if your excellency should allow him to retreat to Point au Fer with his men — if he thought it best — in case of an attack by superior forces. The

men in that case would be saved, while he could at any moment reoccupy his post after the departure of the enemy.

"The post at Point au Fer, I have found so well defended that I am convinced the enemy cannot take it without artillery.

"While I was sleeping at the fort, during the night of the 26th, the small north block house burned down. The fire was caused by a stove that was out of repair. The fire made such rapid progress that the whole building, together with the wooden fortification this side of it was soon in a blaze; and had it not been for the extraordinary exertions of the garrison it would have been impossible to save the large house. Within the space of three hours, the latter caught fire in as many different places; but when I left the fort at six A. M., the flames had been so subdued that there was no further danger. I immediately sent Lieutenant Dovenet from the Isle aux Noix to estimate the damage and provide means to repair the defenses. Your excellency will see by the accompanying report that the damage is not great, and that in a few days the place will be in as good a condition as ever.

"I have the honor of inclosing a little plan, showing the condition of the fort before the fire, the extent of the damage, and the appearance of the place at present.

"To-morrow I will see the regiment Rhetz, and afterwards the regiment Speth. I shall then be able to inform your excellency of the distribution of the troops in the manner directed by you. At present, I can only say, that, omitting the grenadier companies which contain a large number of old people, one-fourth of our men are over forty years of age. I have visited the 34th and 44th regiments, and have inquired of each man his age. The 44th has about eighty men who are over forty, and I think the former has nearly seventy of the same kind; so that, in my opinion the proportion is the same.

"I received your orders by the officer who returned to the post of Captain Sherwood, and have dispatched in all haste the necessary instructions to Colonel St. Ledger to send a detach-

ment *at once* to Crown Point and destroy the gun carriages at that place. I did this because the corps of Ruggers is already very much weakened by the sending off of detachments, and the garrison at St. John needs its men for cutting wood. I trust also that you will approve of my ordering Major Yessop to send an officer with thirty men to St. John, who are to remain there until the detachment returns from Crown Point.

"According to a report of Sherwood, the province of Vermont intends to erect three block houses at Castletown, Pitts and Rutland, which are to be armed with the six pounders now at Williamstown and Lensberg.

"Day after to-morrow I shall see Captain Schmid and consult with him in regard to keeping a detachment on the Horsen road as long as possible, and also respecting the patrols from the Yamaska block house. I shall give orders for the patrols to act with the greatest caution.[1]

"I have the honor, etc.,

"RIEDESEL, Major General."

The forces in Canada were evidently too weak to protect such a large extent of country against a powerful attack. This was what Riedesel always feared. He believed at this time, that the British would be driven across the St. Lawrence, and perhaps out of Canada. General Clinton was unable to send reenforcements, as he needed all his troops for the defense of New York and vicinity. The generals in Canada, were, therefore, obliged to depend on their own exertions for preservation. It was fortunate that they harmonized so well together, as in this manner the conquest of Canada was rendered the more difficult. General Riedesel was, accordingly, very active the entire winter, keeping up the work on the forts. Nothing, indeed, was now thought of, but to act on the defensive. There

[1] Mrs. Riedesel, also, speaks of the fire at Point au Fer, but makes it take place in the fall of 1782. This is certainly a mistake, for the report of General Riedesel is plainly dated March 4th.— *Note in original.*

were in the district under Riedesel, besides the regiments already named, the 29th, 34th and 44th. The regiment Anhalt Zerbst, was also under him indirectly.

In historical works on North America, we find very little regarding the course of events in Canada after the year 1777. Everything naturally remained pretty quiet, for the war was carried on chiefly in the southern provinces. We are sorry also, that what did occur, cannot be given in regular order. We are able to quote only a few documents which throw light upon events at this time. These papers, however, are authentic, and will be of undoubted interest to the historical student.

General Haldimand seldom received direct and official news from the theatre of war. The greater part of his information came incidentally and through his spies. General Riedesel, also, rarely heard from the prisoners in Virginia, or of that which was going on in that province. He was only able to get news occasionally by way of New York and Quebec, but this was a long and round about way.

Meanwhile the battles in parliament, at London, were fully as obstinate as on the continent of America. There were victories and defeats on the floor of that body, according to the respective strength of the representatives of the people, and the ministry.

The opposition were for peace; the ministry for the prosecution of the war. This state of things of course retarded operations, the bad consequences of which were continually apparent. But the opposition remained in the majority, and the ministry were, therefore, forced to resign. General Haldimand received the news of these events in May, and wrote concerning it to Riedesel, as follows:

(Private).

"MONTREAL, *May* 20, 1782.

"Sir: You have undoubtedly learned that on the 16th of this month, a ship from Liverpool arrived at the Bickos, bringing

news of a total change in the ministry. I have no official communications, but have received a private letter from London, under date of March 18th, in which I am informed that Mr. Ellis has been replaced by Lord Germain, Lord Sandwich by Admiral Keppel and Lord North by Cavendish. The ship was detained, on the 17th, at Camouraska by contrary winds. This is all I could learn; but if the wind has not changed, I hope some of the passengers will land, and that Monday's paper may bring us further news about the ministers. May Heaven grant that they may act in our favor. The paper, which I intrust you with, will show you that we have cause for feeling very anxious.

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

By the foregoing letter, we see how poorly even the governor of a province was kept informed of the event that had just taken place in the mother country.

In the beginning of August, a volunteer of Rogers's corps, by the name of Jonathan Miller, who had been captured by the Americans, arrived in Canada. He, with two others, had escaped from the Albany jail. He stated that Washington had his head quarters at New Windsor, for the protection of which he had with him a regiment of his guard. General Patterson commanded at West Point, which was garrisoned by six thousand men. Six hundred men were on the Mohawk river, and seven hundred were then marching to reenforce the enemy. General Riedesel questioned this man personally. It seemed that he, also, had been held a prisoner at West Point, whence he had attempted to escape, but failed. General Riedesel did not fail to communicate the statements of this man to Haldimand, in a report of the 5th of August.

The soldiers at Sorel led a miserable life in the barracks, which in winter were terribly cold, and in summer fearfully hot. They were, also, full of insects. Referring to this in his report of August 5th, Riedesel says:

"All the barracks in Sorel are at present full of bed bugs and other insects, so that the soldiers, in order to obtain any sleep at all, are obliged to sit in front of them the entire night. In consequence of this disagreeable fact, I am compelled to ask permission to have the troops encamp on those places, which I have already mentioned to your excellency. This will also afford the master of the barracks an opportunity to have them repaired by the engineer in chief of the department."

General Haldimand at once consented to this arrangement, and the barracks were immediately cleaned and put in thorough order.

On the 5th of August, Riedesel received the following letter from Haldimand:

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *August* 5, 1782.

"Sir: I will lose no time in communicating to you an important piece of news which I have received in cipher from General Carleton. He writes me, under date of the 3d instant, that the packet arrived in New York on the 31st of July. By this, he learns that the preliminary conferences looking toward a universal peace have already begun at Paris, and that Mr. Grenville has been sent there as minister. He also states that as the independency of the North American states was made the basis of the treaty, his majesty authorized his minister to declare the independence of those thirteen states, before a single article of peace was proposed. We shall soon learn what have been the consequences of a concession of that which has been the only cause of the war. As far as I am concerned, I endeavor to persuade myself that we are far from peace at present, and, perhaps, while I write it is all over with.

"I send you, herewith, the last papers, in which you will find the most interesting news, also a letter from General Washington's commissioner.

"There has been a very strong wind for the last three days; and if there are any ships on the river, their arrival in port will not be delayed. I very much hope that they will bring us good news.

"I have the honor, etc.,
"FERD. HALDIMAND."

General Carleton, who is here mentioned, had lately arrived in New York to succeed Clinton in the command of the English and German troops in North America — the latter officer having been recalled to England. After the unfortunate capitulation of Cornwallis, all confidence in Clinton was lost. Indeed, it was not as yet known in England, which of the two generals was responsible. Carleton, although sent out by the old ministry, was confirmed as commander in chief.

In regard to this, Haldimand writes again to Riedesel as follows:

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *August* 18, 1782.

"Sir: At last I have received a letter from Chevalier Carleton; I will now communicate to you the news he has brought and forwarded to me. It seems that the rebels were in no hurry to accept the propositions made to them, although the contrary had been anticipated in England. Perhaps the ministry will now discover that they did wrong in keeping back the reenforcements that were to have accompanied Chevalier Carleton to New York. The latter has not yet received my letters, and he tells me nothing so far of the result of his negotiations. He confines himself to telling me that he is still inactive; that he has received no letters from England since his arrival; and that he begins to fear that the packet has been intercepted. He adds in cipher: '*I must inform you that at present, there are indications of hostilities both in New York and in your province. But I am inclined to believe that the*

real intentions of the enemy are against this city.[1] *You will, therefore, be on your guard in the event of a French fleet arriving here to cooperate with the enemy.'*

"I communicate to you, my dear general, the news as I have received it. It seems to me that the season of the year is too far advanced for the enemy to undertake anything against us; and I hope that the whipping he has received on the islands will prevent his sending a fleet against New York. As the Chevalier Carleton is constantly on his guard and closely watches his movements — thus forcing him to confine himself to his own region — I trust we shall be informed in season.

"You will also receive by the courier a letter from the adjutant general, in relation to the increase of the workmen on the Isle aux Noix. Meanwhile, you are authorized to select those officers whom you consider most fitted for the different detachments; and you will oblige me by going from time to time to the designated places, as I am convinced that your zeal and presence will do much toward the progress of the work. Twiss will leave here next Saturday.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

General Riedesel was greatly embarrassed in regard to this order respecting the officers. Concerning this matter he writes to Haldimand in a report, under date of September 7th. "Being so deficient in officers I know not how to command the companies. I am ashamed to say that there is not one among them that I could use in this mission."

As an explanation to this remark, it should be mentioned that Haldimand had informed Riedesel that an English officer would soon go to the prisoners in Virginia, and that he also would be allowed to send an officer to attend to certain matters, and carry to them clothing. Finally Riedesel selected one from the dragoon regiment, who was to go to Virginia by water.

[1] I. e., New York.

LETTERS OF GENERAL HALDIMAND TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *September* 16, 1782.

"Sir: Had I suspected that the frigate Hussar would not sail before Wednesday of next week, and had I known that your recruits, your uniforms, and your baggage are at Halifax, I should not have insisted upon the speedy return of Mr. Gräfe. But I will endeavor to make it up by sending Captain Hassel to Halifax; and I will also write to Brigadier General Campbell, and request him to send your letters and other things this fall, if it can be done with safety. I will also charge Cornet Schönewald to send you thence all the intelligence he can obtain.

"I am very much astonished at not having heard from General Carleton, and am very impatient to procure some news concerning him from another source. Four days since I dispatched an express by land, with letters to Penobscot, to the officer in command there, requesting him to inform me of everything that occurred there of the least interest. I expect him back in a month; and I hope that you, also, will receive letters from some of your friends in that place. It is a pity that I did not learn their destination earlier.

"Mr. Gräfe, who arrived here during Saturday night, brought me your honored letter of the 13th. The one of the 12th I received by mail. The one, you have inclosed for New York, I will attend to, and will do my best to have Cornet Schönewald return this fall, as far, at least, as Penobscot or Halifax, whence it will be possible to obtain answers to your letters.

"I also sincerely hope, my dear sir, that we are near peace, as your gracious sovereign has caused you to hope; but I very much fear that the divisions which have again taken place among the ministers, and the ambition of Washington and his admirers, together with the ambitious plans of the French, will place great obstacles in its way. If the chevalier has received

orders (as is stated) to evacuate New York, he will find it difficult to carry this out, notwithstanding he has a fleet there as strong as the one at Boston. But it is to be hoped that the want of materials on the islands for repairing their fleet, will force the French to send it to the continent. In such a case, part of our fleet now at Boston may very likely pursue; and yet Carleton needs the strength of the entire fleet. It is singular that when he has such a safe opportunity of writing me he expresses neither hope nor fear, and that he leaves me, since his arrival, in so much uncertainty concerning everything. I am very sensitive about this. No one, my dear sir, could have taken more pains than yourself in perfecting our works on Isle aux Noix; and I rejoice exceedingly to learn that our redoubts will be finished before winter. I am determined to make you a visit before the end of the month if it is a possible thing.

"Lieutenant Colonel Carleton will also avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the Hussar to visit his brother in New York. I shall select Colonel Hope to take his place as quarter master general.

"Praying you to give my respects to Madam Riedesel,

"I have the honor, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *September* 30, 1782.

"Sir: I presume you have heard that I have twice vainly attempted to do myself the honor of seeing you, and also paying my respects to Madam Riedesel. Last week I was already on my way, when Baron ....., whom I had left behind, brought me letters from the minister, which had been sent to him by an express-ship.

"The duplicates of the letters I received by another ship, which was also dispatched for this purpose. This was the reason for my immediate return. The ships have brought no other letters but these for me; and you will, therefore, readily

believe that this has given rise to many conjectures. But I tell *you*, in confidence, that I have received orders to send at once to New York three transports and other vessels for embarking the troops. They will have to be supplied with provisions and be in condition to receive the troops immediately, as they are to sail without delay for the islands. We may, therefore, take it for granted that the evacuation of New York is decided upon.

"I expect every moment the arrival of some transports that are now in the river, and on which some of your officers and soldiers are expected. If the weather proves favorable I shall not allow them to cast anchor here, but will order them at once to Sorel. I will send you an express as soon as I am informed concerning this matter. In this way, you will have time to make the necessary arrangements to have each man go at once to his regiment. Perhaps it may be necessary for you to attend to this yourself. But as your presence on the Isle aux Noix is so necessary, you will remain there until you hear from me.

"Please excuse my bad writing, but I have only time to assure you, etc.

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

"GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

"Sir: I have the honor of informing your excellency that I received your letter of the 5th instant, also the *Gazette* which I herewith thankfully return. I have no doubt that peace has been concluded, and that we shall both return to our respective countries next spring. Your excellency is aware of the reasons which induce me to rejoice in this event; but, generally speaking, I am too good a patriot and (although no Englishman), love this nation too much not to lament over a disgraceful peace — concluded after such an expensive and bloody war that has lasted seven years. If this step gives peace and rest to millions, I shall be satisfied, for the enormous debt caused by this war, the heavy taxes the interest of which even

it will naturally take a long while to pay, and the diminution of trade, by the loss of various channels that have vanished, must, as a matter of course, put a nation out of humor, cause dissatisfaction and new opposition, and thus create fresh sorrow for his majesty the king. These are signs, which, I am sorry to say, I see in the future. May God grant that I am wrong, and that I have allowed my imagination to run away with me.

"If, as I fear, Canada and Nova Scotia are to be the only provinces in America retained by the English, then special attention should be paid by the latter to render the approach to them as difficult as possible. Then the enemy, in case of a new rupture, which sooner or later may take place, will be unable to become master of them before succor arrives from England. If this idea of mine is correct, Isle aux Noix is particularly the most appropriate place for defending Canada toward the south. I think that the plan of your excellency — to fortify this island — has never been more desirable than at present, just previous to peace being declared and published. The construction of fortifications in time of peace is always a cause for fresh dissatisfaction, and protestations from the Americans. I believe, therefore, that I can justly congratulate you upon the public applause which you will earn from your nation for this wise precaution.

"We are getting along well with the work at this place; and Captain Twiss seems to be very well satisfied with the zeal and activity displayed by the German soldiers in their work. It is a pleasure to see the English labor; and I rejoice that the Germans are trying to imitate their example. If the masonry and the woodwork are done with the same celerity as the handwork, I am convinced that we shall soon have finished the three redoubts, with the exception of the casemates and the barracks, which will easily be finished by May or June of next year; provided, of course, that the weather does not hinder.

"My cashier, Mr. Godecke, has been taken dangerously ill just as he was arranging his accounts. He desires to see me.

As I have everything in good working order here, I shall, therefore, with your consent, go to Sorel for four or five days, and be back again by the middle of next week.

"Captain Twiss has gone to Coteau de Lac. He will be back at eight o'clock this evening. I am in hopes, from what Captain Willoe told me, of seeing your excellency very soon; and it will afford me much gratification should my labors give you satisfaction." [1]

We see by the above letter that the German general had a correct appreciation of the times, and spoke of and predicted events with amazing precision.

As yet, Haldimand, as we have seen in one of his previous letters to Riedesel, knew nothing of the intentions of General Carleton. Very likely the British commander did not know them himself — for what with the actual condition of affairs, and the armistice between the two armies, communicated to him by the ministry, he hardly knew what course to pursue.

General Riedesel's Answer to General Haldimand's Letter of the 30th of September.

"Isle aux Noix, *October* 4, 1782.

"Yesterday evening I received two letters from your excellency. The first was an answer to my report of the 25th of last Monday, and the second was a private letter. I cannot deny that the arrival of the two last ships, bringing only dispatches to your excellency, has raised the curiosity of the public to the highest pitch; while the fitting out of the transports has stirred up a great commotion among the English regiments — the latter expecting every moment to receive orders to embark. I allow them to talk, knowing well that it does not diminish their zeal for work, although, it must be confessed, that the inclement

[1] This letter is only a rough draft, and has no signature. It was written, without doubt, at the beginning of October from the Isle aux Noix.— *Note in original.*

season of the year greatly discourages the troops. In fact, we have not had altogether ten good working days this fall.

"The hope of being soon united to my poor officers of the convention affords me the greatest joy. I must ascribe the event to the mediation of your excellency, for which I cannot too sincerely thank you. If you would send all those, who belong to the Brunswick troops, to Sorel, they might be disembarked here, and I would assign them quarters in the parishes of St. Ours, Sorel and St. Denis, until your excellency designates their winter quarters. In this manner, when the regiments arrive, each man can go to his own, and everything can be arranged for the men (who probably have no field baggage), without confusion, expense or inconvenience. I will arrange everything, with your consent, during my stay at Sorel. There is the best opportunity here for the Hesse Hanau officers to reach their own commands.

"Should Sir Guy Carleton evacuate New York, the Americans will meet with no resistance but in Canada. This might cause them to meditate the subduing of the latter next year if France should assist them by a fleet. Their vanity, also, may lead them to cross the boundary into Canada without first taking Quebec.

"Captain Twiss, I presume, by this time, has assured your excellency that everything is still in order, and that my absence has not caused the least cessation in the work. I hope you will not be dissatisfied at my excursion to Sorel, inasmuch as I was obliged to complete in that place my dispatches to my government.

"I have the honor, etc.,
"RIEDESEL."

"P. S. Should your excellency allow provisions for sixty men to be left in the loyal block house, and provisions for one hundred at Point au Fer, they would amount, for six months, to 29,280 rations. It is true that the garrisons of those two

posts are not sufficient to consume this amount, but I have allowed more both for the secret service and for unforeseen contingencies."

The ship Mercury, which was one of the expected transports, cast anchor three leagues from Quebec on the 3d of October. The captain of the vessel immediately forwarded Haldimand's and Riedesel's letters to them in advance. The latter, also, received at the same time one from Lieutenant Colonel Mengen who was on board the ship. General Haldimand requested General Riedesel — if his health would in any wise permit — to come at once to Quebec and attend to the newly arrived men. But before his departure, the latter received the joyous news that the Isle aux Noix and St. John would be provided with provisions for 4,500 men for six months. General Riedesel named the two largest ships, the ROYAL GEORGE and the INFLEXIBLE, as the ones in which to transport the troops from River la Colle.

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *October* 4, 1782.

"Sir: The messenger, whom I sent last to New York, the latter part of July, has returned again by the same route, after having endured countless dangers and fatigues. I send you, my dear sir, the answer to the letter which you sent by him to your friend. My letters from Chevalier Carleton are dated September the 9th, and contain, besides general matters, nothing of interest. I have not received any letters either from Governor Robertson or Colonel Marsh; but I perceive by the date of the letter, which is in cipher, and a copy of which I send you, that he could tell us nothing new at that time. I received it the 25th of September. We must have patience for a little while longer. The season of the year has not advanced so far

but that we may still expect ships both from Europe and Halifax.

"Mr. Marsh, whom you have seen at Isle aux Noix, has not communicated to me anything of interest since his return from the colonies. The inhabitants of Vermont would like to renew their intercourse with this province, and settle again on the shores of Lake Champlain, but I cannot allow it.

"I hope, my dear sir, that this letter will reach you after your happy return to Sorel. I cannot express to you the many obligations I am under to you, for the trouble you have taken in obtaining winter quarters for the troops. I hope you will not meet with any difficulty. We may yet expect some fine weather; and I trust that the 34th Regiment can yet go to Niagara.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

"P. S. In five or six days I shall have an opportunity of writing to New York. Do you think that it will be too hazardous to send a letter? We must certainly be particularly cautious."

Notwithstanding his poor health, Riedesel undertook the journey to Quebec; the joy of once more seeing his officers and a portion of his men making him forget all personal considerations.

On his arrival in Quebec, he was, as usual, received by Haldimand in the most friendly and cordial manner. He remained there, however, only as long as was necessary to welcome his officers and men. There were very few of the latter.

Immediately upon his return to Sorel, the general wrote his dispatches and several personal letters to Europe, and sent them by an opportunity that occurred shortly afterwards.

He also sent a letter to Lord Shelbourne bearing testimony to the gratefulness which he had toward those who rendered him faithful services.

In this letter, he writes respecting his two English adjutants as follows:

"I have in my suite two English officers — one in the capacity of an assistant, by the name of Willoe, captain of the 8th Regiment, and another, Lieutenant Freeman, my adjutant, of the 24th Regiment, who was formerly brigadier major to Brigadier General Frazer who fell, October 7th, 1777, in the engagement near the school house. Both of these officers were detailed to me by Lord George Germaine by the orders of his majesty, the king of Great Britain. While the other generals have found means for doing something for their adjutants, I have been unable to do anything to show my gratitude to my two officers, who, consequently, hold to this day the same rank as when I first had the pleasure of having them assigned to me. Both are officers of talent, and both are full of zeal for the service, and can be employed with profit, should an opportunity offer.

"I am convinced that it would be of the greatest advantage to them if they should be remembered by your excellency when a chance of promotion occurs; and such a favor, on your part, would lay me under the greatest obligation, which I should endeavor to reciprocate whenever an opportunity offered."

Lord Shelbourn soon met the wishes of Riedesel, being constrained to it not only from the latter's devotion to the cause of England, but from motives of personal friendship. He had been Riedesel's companion in arms during the seven years' war, in which, as Marquis of Landsdown, he was schooled under the excellent Duke Ferdinand.

The troops were distributed in their winter quarters in the following manner:

The dragoons at St. Antoine, the western portion of St. Charles and the western part of Belœil.

The grenadier battalion at Berthier, La Norre and La Baltrin. This battalion furnished an officer's post, together with twenty-five men, to Point au Lac.

The regiment Rhetz (with the exception of the body guards and the company of Captain Olers, that went to Sorel), at St. Denis, the eastern side of St. Charles, the eastern side of Belœil, and Point Oliver.

The regiment Riedesel at Sorel.

The regiment Specht at Yamaska, St. Francois, La Baye and Ricolet. This regiment furnished one officer and twenty-five men (under the command of General Clarke), for the barracks at Three Rivers.

Barner's light battalion at St. Sulpice, Argentigny and L'Assumtion.

The grenadiers and the light battalion, upon crossing the St. Lawrence, were at once placed under the command of Brigadier General Specht.

These different bodies of troops left the Isle aux Noix, in the following order:

1st. The grenadiers and the light battalion.

2d. The regiment Von Specht.

3d. The regiment Von Riedesel.

4th. The regiment of dragoons.

5th. The regiment Von Rhetz.

The ships which conveyed the troops from the island to their quarters, were given up at Sorel by the deputy quarter master general, Captain Barnes.

The regiments drew their rations at the following places: Those at Olivier and Belœil, from Chambly. The rest of the three companies of the regiment Rhetz and the regiment of dragoons from St. Denis. The garrison at Sorel from Sorel. The men at La Baye and Richolet, from Three Rivers. Those at Yamaska and St. Francois, from Sorel.

Those recruits that arrived in the fall, were distributed by Riedesel among the different regiments. They then were again redistributed among the companies, which was done by casting lots. Before the arrival of the captured troops the want of officers was felt so greatly, that Riedesel furnished many regi-

ments from the one of Prince Frederick. Even then, some of the companies were entirely unofficered. Upon the arrival of the men from Virginia, those officers who had been taken from the regiment of Prince Frederick, returned again to it upon the island of St. John.[1]

Riedesel now ordered all the commanders of companies to send him complete lists of their men on the basis of which he had Captain Cleve make out a report. At the same time he had all the accounts properly adjusted. As there was, also, still a great want of subaltern officers, he directed Von Witzlaben and Von Fleischer — two young noblemen — to perform the functions of officers; and their names were accordingly entered on the official list. In view of the English allotment, this order was not unimportant. The order in reference to winter quarters is dated October 26th, 1782.

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *October* 27, 1782.

"Sir: Reposing in you the same confidence, that has never been shaken since I had the honor of your acquaintance, I send you a copy of the letter I have received in cipher from General Carleton. It seems as if congress and the southern provinces had resolved to expel the Indians utterly from the country and to occupy their land. They will likewise endeavor to induce the European powers to allow them to retain Canada and the eastern portion of Florida. They will also, if this does not meet with favor, prolong the war without soliciting aid from Europe. They are led to this step having confidence in their own resources and materials of all kinds which they know well how to make use of.

"Perhaps you will think it strange that they send me the news of the intention of the Americans to attack the upper countries

[1] It is not known with certainty, whether the regiment of Prince Frederick at this time was stationed at St. John, or Isle aux Noix.— *Note in original.*

about the beginning of October (I did not hear of this until the end of this month), and that I should be told that I could receive succor by way of Halifax. This is certainly very short notice. However, I suppose that orders will have to be at once sent to Halifax to forward troops here immediately. I think they will be able to get here before navigation closes. I dare not ignore the order without risk. I have sent orders to the 34th Regiment to march at once to Niagara. Its place at Montreal will be occupied by the battalion of Barner which, I hope, is sufficiently strong to attend to the duties usually performed by the 34th.

"You have, I presume, received the letters from Quartermaster Gerlach, by which you will have seen the changes that have been made. You may, at your own pleasure, make such arrangements in your own district as seems to you most desirable.

"I must now close, assuring you of my entire esteem.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

COPY OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED LETTER OF GENERAL CARLETON.

"NEW YORK, *September* 25, 1782.

"Congress and the assembly of Pennsylvania have determined upon two expeditions into the Indian territory. The principal one, under Major General Potter, is to consist of four hundred Continental troops and six hundred militia and volunteers. They are to rendezvous at Fort Munsey, on the western arm of the Susquehanna, on the 8th of October, and thence are to march into the open country around the head of Pines creek, and into the country of the Senecas. The other one, under the command of General Irvine, is to consist of one thousand men, of which only a few are Continentals. They are to rally at Fort Pitt early in October and march to Lake Erie. The objective point is said to be the Seneca country; and the news, which some of the

escaped prisoners from there have brought, has done much toward getting up this expedition.

"As there is a strong force in Nova Scotia, I have ordered Major General Patterson to give you all the support you may desire.

"The French and the Continentals, under General Washington, are at Visplanks point.[1]

"The L'Aigle of five guns, Captain La Fouche and the Welanda of twenty guns, and loaded with freight from France, have lately been taken on the Delaware.

"GUY CARLETON."

The 8th Regiment which was stationed at Niagara was deficient in captains. Accordingly, the day after his last letter to Riedesel, Haldimand again wrote the latter in reference to this, and asked if he could spare Captain Willoe to proceed to that post, promising to allow of his return as soon as circumstances would permit. In the same letter, also, Haldimand approved of all the measures that had been taken in respect to the provisions sent to St. John. In a postscript he adds: "The two men who have brought me the letters from General Carleton, state that it did not in the least seem as if New York was to be evacuated. They also state that orders had been received not to evacuate Charlestown. I do not know what to think of it."

RIEDESEL'S ANSWER TO THESE TWO LETTERS.

"I had the honor of receiving two private letters from your excellency dated October 27th. The one in regard to Captain Willoe I received yesterday morning; and the other one, with General Carleton's inclosure, also the same day. The confidence which you place in me binds me stronger to you every day. You may rest assured that whatever you intrust to me is most sacred; and your kindness may command me always. Your wishes are

[1] Probably *Verplank's point.*

with me law, and I shall do all I can to further them in this case, although the separation from a man, who has been with me for seven years, is most painful. Since Captain Willoe has found out my thoughts and my tastes, he has greatly assisted me in my correspondence. His discretion has the ring of the true metal. I flatter myself that what I have just said will cause your excellency to allow him to return to me next spring, or, as soon as the danger in the north has passed. I fear, however, that he will not be able to render much assistance to his regiment, as he has been very unwell for the last two months; but his ambition to serve, when your excellency needs him, forces him to start at once for Montreal. I hope he may reach his regiment safely.

"The movement of the two corps toward the borders of the lake seems to be a forerunner of the execution of the plan which Franklin has proposed. He was three or four years with the French minister; and I have no doubt that they intend, after having destroyed the Indian settlements on the lower Niagara, to carry it out. But I hope that the reenforcements, which you have sent to Niagara, have arrived in time to frustrate their designs; and, who knows but that the Indians, taking courage by these reenforcements, may play them a trick, and thus entirely destroy their plans.

"It is to be regretted that Sir Guy did not immediately send orders to Halifax to have troops forwarded to your excellency. Had he done so, they might have been here now, and you would have been able to increase the detachments considerably. But this is policy again, which does more harm than the enemy!

"It is certainly an advantage for you to be able to write General Patterson by land, stating the number of troops you will need in the spring after the ice has gone. And if these succors will only arrive in the month of May you will be able to materially increase your force. I fear, however, that the reenforcements from Halifax will only be productive of evil, since Sir Guy acts in the same manner as the king of Prussia

acted in the last war toward his brother, Prince Henry in Saxony.

"Should the rebels (which I will not believe) gain a foothold on the other side of Lake Ontario, then the second part of your plan might be to go over next spring to Sorel by the way of Hengen's road, and form a junction with the troops above Montreal. I hope that Isle aux Noix will prove an obstacle to their plans. Finally, we must have a firm confidence in providence, and hope for the best.

"The battalion Barner will arrive in Montreal to-morrow; the 34th Regiment might, therefore, be relieved the same day."[1]

REPORT OF GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

"After receiving the orders of your excellency to send the troops (hitherto encamped on the island) into their winter quarters, I took the necessary measures in all haste, and gathered the requisite number of vessels and teams for the transportation between St. John and Chambly. In consequence of this, I have been obliged to postpone the departure of the troops for a few days. They are to move in different divisions, in order that one may be always a day's march behind the other.

"I am in despair at having to report to your excellency that notwithstanding the praiseworthy exertions of the troops, the three redoubts are not entirely finished in the way in which I promised you they should be by the end of this month. The continuous rainy weather, making mud of the whole soil, has not only increased the tiresome labors of the men, but retarded the masons and carpenters — as, indeed, I expected before my departure. The redoubt (called the LOWER REDOUBT) is, as yet, nothing to what I promised it should be. The wall is two feet above the entry; but two rows of masonry on the casemates and the rest of the stone work, are finished. On the UPPER

[1] This draft is without date. It was probably written the last of October.—*Note in original.*

REDOUBT there is still a portion of the wall wanting. One row, however, of the casemates is finished; and the rest of the mason work on the WEST REDOUBT is about two-thirds completed. Two new redoubts have been begun for the purpose of gaining again what has been lost by the bad weather. I leave all the masons and carpenters here. The former will work until ice comes, and the latter will remain here all winter, and prepare the wood and other things for next summer. This latter kind of work may be continued all winter; so that I hope that some of the work, that has been retarded by the badness of the season, may yet be accomplished before the close of the present year; and should you allow me to recommence work as soon as the weather will allow, the whole may be finished by the month of August.

"The provisions are all taken care of on the island; and whatever may be needed at St. John will be sent there next week. One captain, two subalterns and fifty men will relieve the light company at Point au Fer. The latter will set off with me next Sunday to go into winter quarters. One officer and fifty men of the Hesse Hanau yägers will be stationed on the river La Colle for the protection of the wood cutters in case of need. The detachments in the two block houses at Yamaska are to be relieved by the corps of Major Yessop before they go into winter quarters in the district of Montreal. The two Frasers will take the command. The scouts are posted in the same manner as last winter. I have left plain instructions to Major Naern respecting his command at Point au Fer, the loyal block house, Riviere la Colle, and Isle aux Noix. I have also given orders to Major Campbell in regard to St. John and Chambly; and have advised both of these officers not to trouble themselves with the secret service. Thus, I flatter myself that I have arranged everything according to the wishes of your excellency. I shall return to Sorel next Sunday.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"RIEDESEL.

"Isle aux Noix, October 30, 1782."

We have already seen by the above, how correctly General Riedesel divined the intentions of the enemy; and how wisely he had made his arrangements to meet them. In his opinion, Canada was to be kept in every event for the crown; but for this purpose a well arranged system of defense was necessary. Nor did he believe, in view of the weakness of the military force, that this could be done except by fortifications. For the present the chief attention was given to the country between the outlet of Lake Champlain and the mouth of the Richelieu river into Lake St. Pierre, and from Fort Point au Fer to Sorel. There were already several forts along the shore of this river. These must now be made stronger, and redoubts and block houses built.

St. John was now the main fort on the line of the river. This was situated nearly half way between Point au Fer and St. Charles. A little more to the south was the small Isle aux Noix, which, if properly fortified, would become a good bulwark to the fort in case of an attack from the east. Riedesel, therefore, devoted himself mainly to the work of fortifying this island. He explained the necessity of this most fully to the English commander in chief,[1] and especially to Governor Haldimand. The latter, having the most perfect confidence in him, entered fully into his plans. Thus he obtained permission to arrange and carry out everything in regard to this matter, entirely as he thought fit.

We have also seen by the above correspondence that there was, during this year, no union of action among the several English commanders. It was seldom that one received reliable intelligence from the other. Each did as he thought best. In addition to this there were dissension and irresolution in the counsels of the English ministry. In view of these circumstances, the credit of preserving Canada to the English is especially due to General Riedesel; for only himself and Haldimand

[1] Carleton.

commanded in that province. General Carleton did not trouble himself about it. To the pressing inquiries of the governor, he answered only as far as his knowledge went, and then only as much as he was forced to. He had enough to do in acquainting himself with the general confusion of things which, after the capitulation of Cornwallis, had taken hold of the English ministry.

We have likewise seen in the letters, that have been quoted, how particular Riedesel was to acquaint the governor of Canada with this and that occurrence, and to oblige him to give instructions in respect to things of which, perhaps, the latter would not always have thought. But his modesty and prudence would not allow him to count this as anything meritorious. We find, by his letters, that he did everything only in pursuance of orders and accordance with the will of his superior officer — even those things, the plan of which he had himself suggested. He evidently knew how to deal with Haldimand, who had the name of being a man with whom no one could get along. It must, also, be remembered that the latter being, at that time, sickly and peevish, could not travel often over his province. He was tired of his position, and greatly longed for peace.

Hitherto Riedesel had made every effort to fortify Isle aux Noix, before the close of the season; the reason of his having been only partially successful has already been seen. He was not a man who easily gave up what he undertook, but in this case he could not conquer the elements. For weeks a cold rain poured in torrents, softening the soil and filling ditches and holes with water. And yet in spite of this the soldiers, especially the Germans, nobly toiled on — the latter not wishing to give the English an opportunity of saying, that they were behind them in endurance and perseverance. They would stand up to their knees in the water, wet to the skin, but at the same time, lustily handling the spade and singing a German song, while, in a good laugh at some joke by a jolly fellow,

they would for a little while forget their misery. The English generally kept quiet and silent, swallowing their anger at the shocking weather, but working in their way just as well; for they loved the German general, and did everything to please him. When the latter was present, the work advanced better and more rapidly; for being himself jolly and in good spirits, he had always an encouraging word for his men. Then again, many of the young soldiers, seeing the sick men exposing themselves to the inclement weather, felt ashamed at having complained of comparative trifles.

In the beginning of November, Riedesel was still on the Isle aux Noix, when he received intelligence of the birth of a daughter. In a letter dated December 2d, Haldimand informed him that he had received a letter in cipher from Carleton, but which, as yet he had been unable to decipher. He promises, however, soon to let him know its contents. This he did, on the 5th of December, in the following letter:

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *December* 5, 1782.

"Sir: I hope you received the letter from New York, which I had the honor of sending you by the last courier. At that time I was in hopes to have sent you through him something of interest, but I have been disappointed in my expectation. They considered it sufficient to tell me, under date of October 25th, that the expedition against the upper country had been given up, and that the French and Americans, who had been camping together for a while, have separated. In another letter of November 1st, I am informed that the French are marching from the east; that it is, therefore, believed they will go into quarters on the Connecticut river, though it is impossible to guess further than that of their intention. In a third letter of November 12th, I am told that the transports which I dis-

patched on the 11th of the same month,[1] had arrived in New York. In conclusion, I am written to as follows: 'I have just now learned that the French troops are about embarking for the West Indies.' Robertson and Colonel March send me two friendly letters, but do not consider the opportunity sufficiently safe to add more. I hope they will profit by the one of Cornet Schönewald, and that we shall see him in the course of January. I return you his letter. He seems by it to be very well satisfied with his commission.[2]

"I am very sorry to hear of the sickness of Madam Riedesel; but I still hope that her good constitution will conquer the disease without the necessity of a surgical operation.[3] Please, my dear sir, to assure her of my solicitude, and give my respects to your family. I have the honor, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND.

General Riedesel soon after received letters from General Carleton and Captain Willoe. The former contained nothing of special interest; the latter informed him of the writer's safe arrival at Niagara where his regiment was stationed.

Riedesel had had of late some difficulty with an English colonel, by the name of McLean, who had intrigued against him. We cannot give here the particulars of the trouble. Governor Haldimand, to whom the matter was referred, decided it in a manner that placed the honor of the German general in the brightest light. The particulars of the affair are seen in the following letter:

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *December* 19, 1782.

"Sir: Having been obliged to attend a council, which lasted some time, and upon which I had not counted, I could not

[1] Probably a misprint for last month.

[2] Cornet Schönewald had been sent to New York on business.

[3] *Vide Journals* of Mrs. General Riedesel.

before express to you the sympathy I felt upon reading your letter of the 16th of last month. The honorable sentiments which you there express, and the proofs of personal friendship which you give me have made an impression upon me that will only cease with my life. The prudent and firm conduct which you have observed toward Lieutenant Colonel McLean, is the best reason why you should feel no uneasiness in regard to the matter. Do not trouble yourself as to the effects of his bad conduct. He cannot injure you here, and much less in England, where I doubt not your zeal, your interest and your untiring devotion to the service of the king, will be duly appreciated. I believe, also, that his majesty has too good an opinion of my honor, than to pay no attention to the reports I have sent him; and I hope, therefore, that Mr. McLean's true character will then be found out.

"I am exceedingly sorry that I have no other means of disposing of him, than to send him to Sorel, where the artillery staff is stationed. But I am convinced that you are well acquainted with his overbearing disposition toward his subordinates. Should you, however, against my expectations, take a different view of the matter, or have a different plan which suits you better, let me know it.

"I have, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

The Canadians use, during the winter, snow shoes, similar to those worn in Sweden and Norway. Riedesel found them so practical that he introduced them among his soldiers. On the twenty-ninth of December, he issued a lengthy order, in which, among other things, he says: "The frequent snows in this province render it necessary that those who go on expeditions, perform advance duty, etc., should wear snow shoes. This cannot be done unless each man is supplied with moccasins; the wearing of which in the winter, in place of shoes, on or off duty shall be allowed, except in case that a

regiment in Quebec or in garrison is forbidden to parade in them."

Pursuant to this order, the subalterns and privates received each a pair of moccasins — an article of clothing which was very cheap, warm and comfortable. They were a kind of shoe made of the skins of animals, and reached a good ways above the foot — a kind of fur boot that lasted during an entire winter. A pair of them cost at that time 4s. and 6d.

After his return from Isle aux Noix and the troops had gone into winter quarters, Riedesel devoted his attention to forming his men into equal regiments. The chief reason of doing this was the return of the captured troops into Canada. This task was entirely completed by the 1st of December. A report, signed by him on this day, has this indorsement:

"SOREL, *December* 1, 1782.

"General report of the corps of his most serene highness the duke of Brunswick, which is founded on the general statement made up from the lists of December 1st, 1782, after the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Von Mengen, with the exchanged officers and a portion of the men formerly of the convention, and after, also, the arrival in Canada of the recruits of the fifth transport, who are consequently added to the report of the corps."

According to this report, the troops consisted of,

In Canada, 139 officers, 25 ensigns, 198 subalterns, 66 drummers, 2,170 privates, 190 servants; prisoners of war, 5 ensigns, 102 subalterns, 27 drummers, 977 privates, 26 servants; detached and on furlough, 15 officers, 2 ensigns, 2 subalterns, 8 privates, 16 servants; total, 154 officers, 32 ensigns, 302 subalterns, 93 drummers, 3,155 privates, 232 servants; missing, 23 officers, 1 ensign, 54 subalterns, 9 drummers, 217 privates, 29 servants. Total number in Canada, 2,788 men; prisoners of war, 1,137 men; detached and on furlough, 43 men; total, 3,968 men. There were, therefore, wanting 333 men altogether. The regiments in Canada were of course very weak, for;

	MEN.
The regiment of dragoons numbered only,	277
The regiment of Prince Frederick,	618
The regiment Von Rhetz,	401
The regiment Von Riedesel,	399
The regiment Von Specht,	396
The battalion of grenadiers,	253
The light battalion,	425
The general's staff,	19
Total number in Canada,	2,788

Of the officers either out of the province, on furlough, or sick, were;

Lieutenant Colonel Specht, Captain Von Bärtling, First Lieutenant Von Milcan, First Lieutenant Von Hessler, in Brunswick, Germany; Auditor Schmidt, Lieutenant Petersen, sick in New York.

Of the detached officers, were;

Captain Cleve in Penobscot on the sixth transport of troops.

First Lieutenant Gebhardt, Ensign Specht, First Lieutenant Reineking, Second Lieutenant Von Cramer, Second Lieutenant Conrady, with the prisoners at Rutland; Ensign Grimpe, Cornet Schönewald, in New York.

The prisoners of the convention who had been in Virginia, were generally separated from their officers; but the latter having been all exchanged, and congress declaring the convention null and void, the designation, "Troops of the Convention," was henceforth changed to "THE PRISONERS OF WAR." They were sent to Rutland in New England, where they remained until peace was declared. Only one officer, First Lieutenant Gebhardt and Ensign Specht were with them; these latter being detached merely for the purpose of keeping an eye upon discipline, etc.

As not a single document, referring to the condition of the prisoners this year, has been found among Riedesel's papers, nothing further can be said of them during this period.

1783.

At the beginning of this year nothing was known in America in regard to the provisional treaty of peace made in Europe on the 13th of November, 1782. Financially, England was in a state bordering upon bankruptcy; Spain and France were nearly in the same condition; and the Americans were deficient in almost everything necessary for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Especially was there a lack of provisions and a well regulated legislation. They were short of men and ammunition; and, at the same time, a worthless paper money was the only means of paying the troops. Mutinies frequently occurred among the troops who were generally without discipline; and some deserted, refusing to endure longer the hardships of the war. It is true that the late success of their arms had somewhat increased the courage of the troops, but how long might it continue in case of a reverse?

The generals in Canada, who were furthest from the theatre of events, as yet knew not how matters stood. True, they had heard flying and contradictory rumors of a projected peace, but otherwise they were as much in the dark as any inhabitant of Canada, having, as yet, received no official intelligence. They could, therefore, do nothing but what every careful soldier is bound to do, viz: to take such measures as would prevent themselves being surprised.

Meanwhile, Riedesel was waiting for the favorable season of the year, in order to continue the work on the fortifications of Chambly. The obliging General Haldimand, also, sent him, during this winter, all the important news that he heard of; and as a sincere and well meaning friend, took great interest in the family affairs of the German general, which had grown worse since the operation that had been performed upon the breasts of Mrs. Riedesel.

On the 9th of January, Riedesel, who was then at St. John, received from Haldimand a letter in which three documents were inclosed, containing more definite news, than had hitherto been received, of the events which had occurred the previous year in front of Gibraltar.

Haldimand, it seems, had also sent a little while previous, some spies into Vermont. They returned safely; but, brought thence no cheering news.

Haldimand again writes to Riedesel as follows:

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *January* 13, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: During the night of day before yesterday, a messenger was sent to me from Halifax, by whom I expected important news. I opened the package in great haste, but how great was my astonishment at finding nothing but a private communication in cipher, dated at New York, October 26th, the duplicate of which I had received through the woods six weeks since, and the contents of which I communicated to you at the time. I send you herewith a copy of a letter from General Patterson, which is just as original and laconic as the one of Sir Guy. Yet it seems that an alteration has been made respecting the destination of the troops now in Nova Scotia. I fear, therefore, that I shall not have the promised succors. Consequently, I cannot depend on anything from that direction.

"I await impatiently the arrival of Ensign Schönewald with the dispatches which I suppose have been intrusted to him; for I hope that the ministry will make them [1] pay the same attention to us in our corner as though we were engaged in enterprises of greater moment. This want of attention, on the part of our neighbors, confirms me more and more in my resolution, made as early as last summer.

"I rejoice very much at your safe arrival in Sorel, and should

[1] I. e., Carleton, and the military government at New York.

rejoice still more did I hear that Madam Riedesel had entirely recovered. I request you to assure her of my esteem.

"McLean, inflated with arrogance, will omit nothing to gain adherents; and, if the least opportunity is given him, will soon consider himself a man of importance. I should stir him up myself if he would stay here; but I will communicate to you some information showing you his character in a yet different light.

"In case of any news of interest occurring, I have directed Sherwood to inform you of it; and I request you to forward it to me by the same courier, after you have read it, taking such precaution as you shall deem necessary.

"I have the honor, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

General Haldimand was at this time unwell, but did not allow his sickness to prevent his attending to his official duties. The confidence, which he placed in the German general, is evident from a letter which he wrote to him on the 9th of January. Among other things he says in it: "If I was very sick and needed assistance in the service of the king, you may, dear sir, rest assured that you would be the first officer on whom I would call." He, himself, did not believe, at that time, in peace, for in a letter of February 5th, he says: "I am very much inclined to believe that the war will be continued more vigorously than ever. I hope that, as good allies, we shall be able to keep working, and be more successful than we have been hitherto."

He writes again:

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *February* 10, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: The messenger, whom you were so kind as to send me, arrived this morning, and has handed me the package which you gave him. It contains some matters of interest from

my correspondents in the colonies, but nothing from New York. Most of them were written some time since, but by one written more recently, I see that all the French troops have gone to the islands, and that only a single company remains on the continent of America. I perceive, also, that General Washington has taken his head quarters on the highlands at Windsor; yet nothing looks like hostilities either on one side or the other. He does not believe yet, that peace has been made, as congress is said to have resolved to do nothing without the consent of France, who is not inclined to any peace but a favorable one; and as England will not acknowledge the independence of her rebellious colonies, he further says that each province, notwithstanding the high taxation which is necessarily imposed, is willing to support congress. He believes that we may expect unimportant news from the islands to which our and the French fleet were obliged to return. It seems that the allies are directing their attention to Jamaica.

"My correspondent further assures me that Lord Howe has come to the assistance of Gibraltar and that he had gained there some advantages over the French and Spanish fleets. The particulars, however, are not as yet learned. But it is certain, that the allies have lost four or five ships of the line, which were either taken or destroyed, and that the siege had been raised in great haste, and with severe loss. It also appears that the Spanish fleet had suffered much damage by a storm before Cadiz. At the close of his letter, he says, that General Carleton would return to Europe, but it was not known as yet who would be his successor.

"This, my dear sir, is all that I learned. But spring is at hand, when all mysteries will be solved in spite of all the reticence that is observed. I have, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

Meanwhile, the Americans becoming more active in the southern provinces and in the vicinity of Albany, Riedesel

feared they were meditating a movement against Canada. He reported what he had learned by his emissaries, in all haste to Haldimand through his adjutant, Captain Freeman. The governor, therefore, answered as follows:

"QUEBEC, *February* 13, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: I trust that Captain Freeman will return safely to Sorel with the letters I have written to you. As he was completely exhausted when he arrived, I wished him to rest a little while, but the great anxiety pervading all circles here to learn the least thing, would not allow him to do so. This induces me to ask if you will not have the kindness, whenever you send messengers to me, to direct them to remain at Major Holland's (of which arrangement I have already notified him) who will immediately start (or his son in his absence) and bring the dispatches to me. I can then, if necessary, go there myself and speak with the messenger and let him depart without any sensation. I confess to you, my dear sir, that I am ashamed at having to employ such means. I write by this messenger to Chevalier Johnson,[1] directing him immediately to send five or six of his most active and expert Mohawks to watch the road leading from Albany to West point, and report at once to the commanding officer at Point au Fer and himself whatever they may learn. As for Sherwood, I hope he will be on his guard that he may retreat in season; and if it should prove true that the enemy meditate an expedition against Point au Fer, and if we can obtain news of his movements in time for Chevalier Johnson, with the savages and his light battalion, to fall back a few miles, even, above Point au Fer, I believe that we shall have made a good bargain.

"I await intelligence from you with impatience and have the honor, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

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[1] Sir John Johnson.

Both the generals were obliged to observe secrecy respecting their preparations against a hostile attack, that they might be concealed as much as possible from the Canadians. They feared, and not without cause, that if the disloyal ones heard of it, a rebellion might take place, for the suppression of which Haldimand felt himself too weak. On the other hand, should the liberal party become acquainted with the intentions of the Americans — a fact which seemed likely — he desired to maintain secrecy respecting his own arrangements that the enemy might not be informed, by the sudden confidence of the loyal Canadians, of the preparations made to resist an attack. Point au Fer was an important place, it being the key to the northern outlet of Lake Champlain. It belonged to Riedesel's district, in which it was the most extreme point. The latter, accordingly, having had it well manned and fortified, had not the least fear of its being surprised.

Indeed, Riedesel with his accustomed carefulness and activity, had made every preparation to receive the enemy. Haldimand was entirely satisfied with his plans. It seems, however, that he was somewhat in doubt regarding the discretion of the loyalists who occupied the loyal block house.

For further safety, Riedesel formed a detachment, under Major Campbell, and sent it still nearer the threatened points for observation. His ideas, respecting this reconnoissance, he communicated to Haldimand in a letter, which the latter answered under date of February 20, 1783. It is as follows:

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *February* 20, 1782.

"My Dear Sir: I see by the letter with which you have honored me, through Mr. Murray, that you have made up, with all possible precaution, a detachment to be located to the best advantage. I trust that this little excursion will be of material benefit to the troops in acquiring experience. It is not as difficult to march in winter from the log cabins into the

woods as is generally imagined. Meanwhile, I give my consent to all the general and private orders you have issued for this purpose, and, I hope, that during your tour, you will have the satisfaction of having everything intelligently carried out, and a return of your health by the exercise consequent on this excursion. I only fear that the thaw has spoiled the roads, and that the ice between St John and Isle aux Noix will break, thereby making your tour very disagreeable. Should this be the case, I would request you to postpone the trip for the sake of your own health in which I am so much interested.

"I know not as yet when I shall be able to pay a visit to Madam Riedesel; but I foresee that it will be impossible during the present month. Meanwhile, remember me to her, and believe me in the truest devotion, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

Again he writes a week later:

"QUEBEC, *February* 27, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: Convinced that exercise and a change of air will do more for the recovery of your health than all the skill of physicians, I greatly rejoice to see by your letter of the 25th that you thought of starting the next day for St. John. The frost, which we have had for the last two days, leads me to think that the weather will be favorable for you, and that you will return to St. John in perfect health. Captain Twiss left this morning, and, perhaps, he will have the honor of seeing you before you receive this letter.

"Although I feel perfectly easy in regard to the safety of our advanced posts, I am very anxious to learn the real cause for the late movement of the rebels. If they are aiming at Vermont, and if they should be successful in conquering it, I anticipate for us very disagreeable consequences. Besides, my hands are tied in everything; and I hear nothing of what is occurring in Europe or on the Atlantic coast. I am very much surprised that we have no news as yet from Cornet Schönewald.

He must have arrived some time ago, or have sent his dispatches by an express. I presume, however, that he has been detained at New York. I have, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

We must be satisfied during this month with what Haldimand writes to Riedesel. Only one letter is extant from the latter, by which we are enabled to learn something regarding his activity. Feeling unwell at this time, he probably wrote no more than was absolutely necessary. The drafts of his letters, which are of importance, are generally met with, but nothing of the kind can be found written during this month.

The attentive reader will have noticed a carelessness, on the part of Haldimand, in regard to the hostile movements against Canada. While the sick German general starts on a tedious, and perhaps, dangerous winter tour of the outposts, the governor remains quietly at Quebec scarcely on his guard; while in respect to the intelligence which he receives, the English general takes his measures according only to what he himself believes to be true. Thus we find, even in an active and honorable man, that remissness by which generals and officers did so much damage to the cause of their king. The increasing ill health and dejection of Haldimand, however, is some excuse for his conduct. He was often troubled with the stone, from which at times he suffered intensely.

Riedesel, notwithstanding his ill health, set out on his tour of the northern forts. He rode over the Chambly river in a sleigh, and traveled very fast. Upon his safe arrival at St. John he wrote, among other things, to Haldimand, that up to that time the trip had been of great benefit to him. The governor answered the letter on the 3d of March. In speaking, in this letter, of the movements of the Americans, he says: "I foresee that we must neglect no means by which to find out what were the real intentions of the rebels. It is said that the thaw has frustrated the execution of their plans, and there is, therefore,

nothing to be feared for our posts. The detachment of Major Campbell may now return to its quarters. Captain Twiss will nevertheless attend to the completion of the works. I request, therefore, that you will grant him all the necessary men that he asks for."

He writes later:

"QUEBEC, *March* 6, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: At the moment that I am about taking my pen to answer your letter of the 2d inst., Major Holland enters with the package which your messenger, who left St. John on the 4th, has handed him. I am very much obliged to you my dear sir, for the trouble you have taken, and I now request you only to send a special messenger when circumstances warrant it. I have been prevented by the one now here from sending you the answer by post. I presume your sergeant has time to stay over till to-morrow.

"If the enemy really started on the 11th of last month (which is, however, very unlikely) either from the direction of Vermont or our outposts, he must, by this time, either have returned to his quarters or has intentions against Oswego or Carleton island. In the latter case, I trust that the recent thaw has made the roads, which he would have had to take, impassable. At any rate, I have every reason to believe that he has failed in his undertaking. Those two posts are commanded by two active and careful officers, and are supplied with everything necessary for their defense. There were in the month of January 550 men at Oswego and 660 at Carleton island. I cannot, therefore, believe, that they have allowed themselves to be surprised. I am, I repeat, perfectly at ease in regard to those two posts. I am, however, very much obliged to you for writing to Chevalier Johnson.

"Colonel Hoope left for St. John this morning, and will have the honor of seeing you next Sunday. I very much wish that he may be able to visit our outposts — the block houses and

everything under the immediate superintendence of Captain Twiss. I discover in Colonel Hoope a warmth and a zeal for the service of the king, which makes me anticipate from him great assistance. I have instructed him to communicate to you a discovery which he has made in regard to the magazines in his district. I hope you will suggest to him measures to be taken against those persons implicated in the matter.

"I am under renewed obligation to you for the trouble you have taken in the matter of Captain Pritchard.[1] He is certainly a miserable creature; and I am really at a loss to know what shall be done with him.

"I have had no time as yet to read the newspapers which you had the kindness to send me; but from their date, I do not think they contain anything of interest.

"I rejoice to hear that your health is daily improving. No one wishes your recovery more than I.

"I have, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

It is not a little strange that Haldimand should now send Colonel Hoope to visit the posts, after being seemingly convinced that all danger had passed. The inference is that the general intended by this mission to pave the way for the colonel's promotion.

The particulars relating to the intended expedition of the Americans, Haldimand learned from Major Ross, the beginning of March.

Ross reported on the 27th of February, from Niagara, that he had learned on the 14th of that month, from an American deserter, that Villet (a French colonel), had intended to surprise this post during that night, but, led astray by his guides,

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[1] Captain Pritchard — a Canadian and a wily man of doubtful reputation — was employed by the two generals as an informer. It was his special duty to inquire into the sentiments of the Canadians. It was afterward found that he was deceiving both parties.

the plan had been frustrated, and that he would endeavor to carry out his purpose the night following. He had also learned that the enemy did not number over 600 men; and that they had arrived in sleighs, which they had left behind in their retreat. He (Ross) had sent out a detachment to destroy these sleighs, and, at the same time, had dispatched a small corps of 200 men after the retreating enemy. The latter, however, had reached their sleighs in time and escaped. "Major Ross," writes General Haldimand, "justly describes this expedition as the most stupid ever undertaken, and praises it only so far as the celerity and secrecy shown in carrying it out. The distance from Saratoga to Niagara was made in eight days, and no one, the entire length of the Mohawk, knew anything about it. The enemy left behind nine ladders, and disappeared without having had a glance at the fort, or carrying with him a single prisoner; so that he returned as he had come unfamiliar with everything but his own flight. The enemy lost five men in prisoners and deserters; and Major Ross was very sorry the enemy desisted from his design, as the good condition of his own men, and their anxiety for a fight, would have given the enemy a terrible defeat."

Riedesel was only sorry that Major Ross was not sooner informed of this expedition, as it would have been an easy matter to capture the sleighs and thus cut off the retreat.

Riedesel was also instructed to make inquiries regarding the suspected Captain Pritchard, and to investigate the defalcations in the administrations of the English magazines. As soon as Colonel Hoope gave him the necessary information in this matter, he, with his accustomed prudence, sagacity and strict impartiality undertook the investigation, examined witnesses, and kept minutes concerning the whole affair. Captain Pritchard was found to be a party to the transaction, and, he, together with several officials of the English hospitals, was found guilty. The other culprits came under the jurisdiction of General Haldimand.

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

"QUEBEC, *March* 17, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: I am very much obliged to you for sending me by an express messenger the speech of the king. I was exceedingly anxious to have it, and I have read it with great pleasure, although it is somewhat humble. I believe that he is for war, and that this concession was necessary, under the circumstances, in order to insure for himself the good will of his subjects in case that peace should demand too severe conditions. In such a case I do not believe that the nation will make the final offers. I believe, therefore, either that peace will now be made, or that the war will be prosecuted with more zeal than ever. Our navy has lost nothing of her lustre, and although our expeditions on land have not been successful, everything might again be made right, and even the supremacy on this continent be once more obtained. Notwithstanding, however, peace seems to me to be desirable; and although we surrender the colonies, the peace will be more honorable to the nation after having maintained the war so long against such tremendous odds, and in spite, too, of the cabals and internal divisions which were alone sufficient to have ruined her. What happens to us to-day will sooner or later overtake the Bourbon family. Envy against power will spring up; alliances will be formed against it for the purpose of gnawing off its claws; and the Americans, whom it now protects, may be the first who will enrich themselves from its legacy. It does not seem to me that they can long remain friends.

"I expect news from New York and Halifax every moment, from which we may, perhaps, learn what is to be our fate; and I sincerely trust that it may give us the prospect of seeing each other next fall in London, and the winter in Brunswick. Amen.

"I have, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

ANSWER OF GENERAL RIEDESEL.

"SOREL, *March* 19, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: I had the honor of receiving by to-day's mail and by a returned express yesterday, two official and one private letter from yourself. The private letter of your excellency has again raised my spirits. Although not born in England, I hope that everything I have suffered for the king may be for the best, and that providence may, in time, grant the means for repairing all losses. I shall not at all be surprised if America herself should be engaged in war within two years, and the northern colonies separate from the southern ones. I thank Heaven that the time is near at hand when I shall be able to return to my fatherland where I will be enabled to give my children a better education, and regain my health. But wherever I may be, I shall never forget my good fortune in having served under your excellency; for, without flattery, the time I have spent under you has been the most pleasant of all during this war. With esteem and gratefulness I shall ever remember the kindness which I have received from yourself. I confess, also, that I would gladly pay my respects to that monarch for whom, and for whose empire I have now gone through fifteen campaigns; but, I greatly fear, in view of the enormous expense of the war and the dislike which the present secretary has toward the foreign troops, that the reception may not come up to my expectations, unless I am introduced by a general under whom I had the honor of serving, and to whom the king and the nation must be grateful for the manner in which he governed this province.

"I have, etc.,

"RIEDESEL."

GENERAL HALDIMAND TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

(Private).

"QUEBEC, *March* 24, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: Doctor Mabon, who arrived here Friday morning greatly fatigued but entirely satisfied with his journey, has handed me the letter with which you honor me.[1] I feel highly flattered that you are so well satisfied with your second stay in Canada. Had it been possible, and had I followed my inclinations I would gladly have done more for you and your family. But in our situation one must act according to circumstances; and you, my dear sir, have done everything with a zeal, an attention and a reliability which gives you a perfect right to claim my esteem. I shall always consider it my duty to do you all the justice which is due you. The state of your health, and your family matters, which lead you to wish to return to Europe, are both natural and praiseworthy, and I trust that your expectations may be fulfilled. Still, during the last summer I, myself, have written three letters in which I also asked permission to return there next autumn. I believe that my request will not be denied me in case peace is made.

"I expect news every moment, and cannot understand why it takes so long to come. If I do not receive any within a few days, I shall believe that something has turned up to prevent the conclusion of peace. But I hope we will receive letters from Penobscot in a few days. The son of Launiere, who left here the 17th of February, with a couple of savages to carry your letters there, ought to have been back in five or six weeks. We may, therefore, expect him at any hour.

"The pain in my kidneys, which still continues, does not

[1] The English surgeon of staff, Mabon, had just finished a tour of the forts for the purpose of examining into the health of the troops. He was a great friend of both generals. Riedesel generally stayed at the doctor's house when in Quebec with his family.

allow me to make the journey to Sorel on the ice; but I intend to make up for it in the spring. Requesting you to assure the Madam of my esteem,

"I am, etc.,

"FERD. HALDIMAND."

Haldimand, as late as the latter part of March, had no reliable intelligence either in regard to the treaty of peace, or his own movements in case of a continuance of the war. He writes concerning this to Riedesel, in a letter of the 31st of March, as follows: "If the war is to continue, it is now high time for me to be told what I am to do. As I expect this,[1] I greatly desire that the works on Isle aux Noix should be strengthened. I have written Captain Twiss in regard to this matter, and have commissioned him on his passage through Sorel to consult with you regarding the means, the number of men, and the kind of laborers which you can furnish for the work. I expect him back by the 8th of next month, in order that we may lose no time."

General Riedesel being desirous of obtaining definite information concerning certain matters before making arrangements for the coming year — and Haldimand knowing as little about the future as he did himself — wrote directly to the commander in chief, Carleton. But neither did he succeed any better with him; for the latter was, also, heartily sick of his position, and longed for nothing more than to be recalled from a theatre of war in which he was not only forced to remain inactive, but risked the loss of laurels gained in other campaigns with so much trouble. He wrote to Riedesel the beginning of April as follows:

"NEW YORK, *April* 9, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: The tranquil state of affairs in Canada, which, I believe, I must take for granted, should not be an

[1] I. e., a continuation of the war.

excuse for neglecting this opportunity to assure you of my perfect esteem, and express to you my especial wishes for your welfare and health, in which I also include Madam Riedesel.

"You will have learned that the preliminaries for a general peace have been signed and ratified at Paris. This, of necessity, will cause several alterations in the situation of the soldiers. I, for my part, without waiting for the results, some time since urgently asked for a furlough, and expect the arrival of a successor daily, to whom I will gladly surrender the command. But whether I am in England or elsewhere, I shall always be happy to give you proof of my esteem, with which

"I remain, etc.,

"GUY CARLETON."

General Carleton thus ignored the main question, preferring to leave its solution to his successor. Riedesel, therefore, knew now just as much as he did before, and had to leave the rest to time and chance. The only thing he could do was, to keep his troops in readiness for all contingencies, and to continue the work on the fortifications.

The latter part of March, his youngest daughter, little Canada, died. The two older daughters loved their little sister so much, that her death made them both sick. The father, although he had summoned a good physician from Three Rivers, and did everything in his power for his loved ones, felt very solicitous; nor was it until the physician assured him most decidedly that their illness was not alarming, that his fear subsided.

Some of the German officers at Sorel had a cross with an inscription placed on the grave of the little Canada, who was there buried in consecrated ground. The populace of the place were strict Roman Catholics; and the officers who placed the cross over the grave, belonged to the same religion. They, with a kind forethought, placed the cross over the little one to prevent wicked hands of fanatical people violating the heretical grave.

In the beginning of April, Riedesel went to Isle aux Noix, for the purpose of pushing forward the work on the fortifications. He also thought, by change of scene, to recover in a measure from his recent bereavement.

Toward the middle of April, Haldimand received some indirect news respecting the treaty of peace by a ship which arrived from the east. They had already a copy of the treaty in Philadelphia, and yet the governor of Canada had not received any official news of it either from his government or the commander in chief in New York! General Haldimand, therefore, hesitated about saying anything publicly in regard to it, although he wrote respecting it to General Riedesel on the 17th, as follows:

"Since the treaty has not yet been published, and the future of Canada seems to me still in danger I shall not publish anything of what I have just learned, until it has been communicated to me officially. This state of things, however, cannot last long, as I have been assured that a package arrived in New York on the 26th of March. The arrival of Carleton's courier must be retarded only by the bad roads, since hostilities in America were to have ceased by the 20th of March."

He also mentions in this letter the new boundaries of the UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

In a letter of the 26th of April, Haldimand writes that he had received letters from Carleton, but none from the minister. He stated, however, that he expected one by a frigate which was to arrive from England in a few days. All hostilities having on the 20th of March ceased on land and water — in consequence of the treaty of peace and in pursuance of the orders of his British majesty — Haldimand, in a manifesto announced the particulars to the troops and the inhabitants of Canada. Regarding his other preparations, he says in the above mentioned letter: "I will not stop the works which have been begun on the Isle aux Noix, for the reason that this is very likely the only fort we shall retain since the district of Niagara, Oswego, and, perhaps, Carleton island, also, are to be surrendered to the rebels. The

loyalists are downcast, and the Indians have been entirely forgotten in the preliminaries. My soul is completely bowed down with grief at seeing that we (with no absolute necessity), have humbled ourselves so much as to accept such humiliating boundaries. I am heartily ashamed, and wish I was in the interior of Tartary."

General Haldimand, notwithstanding the drafted peace, would not trust the Americans. He still feared that they might yet undertake something against the southern boundaries of Canada, before the peace was fully published. In this opinion, moreover, he was confirmed by a letter from the commanding staff officer at Oswego, to the effect that the enemy were contemplating a movement in that direction. Haldimand writes concerning this to Riedesel as follows:

"You understand as well as I, that I dare not for a moment slacken our vigilance, which is necessary as long as we have the misfortune of having anything to do with the rebels, and until the publication of peace in due form. I, myself, doubt whether even then, we can enjoy rest for any length of time in their neighborhood."

The work on the fortifications, especially those on Isle aux Noix, was therefore pushed forward more vigorously than ever. Still, not as many men were employed on them this year as the last, as the generals, in view of the uncertainty of affairs, were unwilling to take the men away from their winter quarters unnecessarily.

On the 18th of May, Riedesel received several letters from Germany, and, among them, one from his brother sealed with black wax. His father had died on the 5th of September, 1782, at his manor in Lauterbach. At the time of his death, he bore the title of privy counselor of Great Britain, and was seventy-seven years of age. Riedesel, already sad, grew more low spirited upon hearing this news, and longed more than ever for home, where his presence was now urgently needed for the settlement of important family matters. He was, therefore,

most happily surprised at receiving, the middle of June, the following letter from General Carleton:

"NEW YORK, *June* 6th, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: Having this moment received orders from his majesty the king to send, without delay, all the German troops, who served in the army, to Europe, I am already engaged in making the necessary preparations for carrying them out as speedily as possible. I intend to embark those belonging to the Duke of Brunswick first. I have also given the same orders in regard to those troops now in the district of Nova Scotia. They will march to Dunen, where the rendezvous will take place, and where you will receive further orders.

"Some of the Brunswick troops will have to remain for a little while longer in New England, but measures for their liberation have been taken.

"I have, etc.,

"GUY CARLETON."

General Haldimand forwarded the arrangements for hastening the departure of the troops as much as possible. He allowed the Brunswick troops to remain in their quarters up to the time of their sailing, a circumstance which afforded them great satisfaction. General Riedesel, also, had everything so arranged that the men were ready for departure at any moment.

In the beginning of July, an opportunity offering to send dispatches to Europe, Riedesel availed himself of it to send a letter to the hereditary prince:

"*To his most serene Highness, the Hereditary Prince.*

"Most Gracious Prince and Lord: The three kind letters of your highness dated respectively the 26th of August, 1781, the 26th of March and the 27th of October, 1782, were handed me eight days ago. It is to me one of the greatest sources of satisfaction to see that your highness is pleased with my conduct

toward your troops, and that the documents in relation to the investigation at Berthier have finally reached you. It shall be my constant endeavor to carry out the commands of your highness, and to be of use to your troops in every emergency; and in case of acts occurring either against the interests of yourself or the service of the king, I should certainly take the liberty of reporting it to you. But the two corps here are commanded by two such worthy men, that such a case could not by any possibility occur; and I can confidently report to you that the commanding officer, General Loos, who has charge of the first battalion of your highness, is certainly able to give Colonel Von Leutz and his regiment the same good testimonial. It is also my duty to add the same in regard to my friend, Colonel Von Kreutzberg, and the brave corps of chasseurs under my immediate command.[1] Not a single complaint nor a report of any disorder has been made during all of the eighteen months that this corps has been under my command; and Colonel Kreutzberg has served with such distinction, that he has gained for himself the approbation and love of the entire army and the public. I, for my part, am under double obligations to him for the friendly readiness with which he assisted me in the command of my district. It being my most pleasing business to carry out the orders of your highness, I send you herewith a copy of the state of the Brunswick troops. I have also attested a statement of the number of the first battalion of your highness for Colonel Von Leutz. But not having received permission to publish our system of economy, I must request you to keep it entirely for your own perusal. I have also asked the same of Colonel Von Leutz.

"In conclusion, as there is no news of importance since peace

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[1] Colonel Von Leutz took the command of the Hesse Hanau regiment after the departure of Colonel Gall. Colonel Von Kreutzberg commanded the chasseurs.—*Note to original.*

has been declared, I report to you that all the German troops in this province have received orders to embark as soon as the transports, which are daily expected, shall arrive here. These troops will very likely be disembarked at one and the same place in Germany, whence I will send a report to your highness. It is a pity that we are separated from the prisoners of war, and that the recruits also should be scattered over so many places. The latter, like myself, have been informed by General Carleton that they will be sent from the places where they now are directly to Germany; a circumstance which will cause great confusion in settling up the business accounts.

"I recommend myself to the future favor of your highness.

"RIEDESEL.

"Sorel, June 21, 1783."

As mentioned in the above letter, Riedesel had already learned that the convention prisoners would not be sent to him, but would go directly from the place of their captivity to Europe. This was very unpleasant to him, for he would have much preferred to have had all his men together. But this could not be; and he, therefore, consoled himself by doing for them all that lay in his power. Toward the latter part of June, he wrote the following to General Carleton:

"His excellency, General Haldimand, has given me permission to send an officer by land to New York. I avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of three letters from you during the winter and spring, together with an inclosed note, all of which I have answered by way of Halifax and Penobscot. The last letter of your excellency, which Cornet Schönewald handed me on the 2d of June, deprives me of the hope that our prisoners of war will be united with me before I leave the province. As we have no orders as yet, respecting our departure, I take the liberty of sending this officer to you in order to request your excellency to give your protection to Lieutenant Reinecking, the officer who will accom-

pany our prisoners (when they are exchanged) to Germany. He is a perfectly reliable man; and as he will need a considerable sum of money when the prisoners are exchanged, I would recommend him to your excellency, and would request you to kindly procure for him the amount he will need to satisfy the just demands of the convention troops.

"Our prisoners of war being at present in two different provinces, viz: those of the Saratoga convention in Pennsylvania, and those of Bennington, until the 7th of October, in Massachusetts bay, a union of these two divisions, preparatory to sending them to Europe, would be a great relief to the service; for in this way the number of officers would be increased, and a better oversight maintained.[1]

"Your excellency has always given your support to the troops of my sovereign, and I therefore now leave them entirely under your protection.

"Madam Von Riedesel and myself are under many obligations to you for your kind remembrances. You may be assured that yourself and your entire family will always be respected and beloved by us.

"I have received a letter from Lord North in which I am informed that I am to return to Brunswick with my troops. He also pays me a compliment on the part of his majesty the king, in regard to the way in which I have led them during the war. The transports are daily expected. When they arrive, we shall at once embark and return to Europe. I flatter myself that we shall have the pleasure of paying our respects to Lady Mary.

"I have the honor of recommending the bearer of this letter, Lieutenant D'Anniers, and I shall rejoice very much to see him here again before we start, in order to hear from him something

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[1] We have already seen that with the Brunswick troops of the convention, who numbered about 900 men, there were only two officers; while with the prisoners at Bennington there were comparatively a large number of officers.—*Note in original.*

respecting the condition of our troops. I therefore request your excellency to send him back as soon as possible.

"I have, etc.,

"RIEDESEL."[1]

General Carleton replied to this letter in a very friendly spirit. He said in his letter that the Brunswick troops of the convention had sailed for Europe, in charge of Lieutenant Reineking, as early as the 6th of June. Of the prisoners, who had been left at Rutland under two officers, one hundred were to be sent to New York; and consequently the Hessian major, Baurmeister, had gone to Philadelphia to settle the matter with congress. The troops would be sent to Europe immediately upon their arrival in New York.

This letter was brought by Lieutenant D'Anniers. He had arrived in New York too late to go south and inquire into the condition of the prisoners. They were already sailing on the broad ocean without Riedesel knowing in what condition they were in. The only thing which consoled him was his knowledge of the skill and honor of Lieutenant Reineking, whom he knew to have done his best to procure all the necessaries for the troops.

The English government, as a matter of course, was anxious to get rid of the auxiliary troops as soon as possible after the declaration of peace. They cost a great amount of money daily, and with her exchequer exhausted, England was obliged to be very economical. In addition to this, they were desirous to avail themselves of the favorable season of the year to transport to their homes the soldiers whom they did not wish to leave longer in their lamentable position.

The above mentioned letter of Lord North to Riedesel reads as follows:

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[1] The draft of this letter is without name of place or date. It was very probably written at Sorel, the latter part of June.

"WHITEHALL, *April* 6, 1783.

"My Dear Sir: Preliminary negotiations for peace between his majesty and the United States of America having begun, and it being the intention to refrain from all operations against Canada, I have received orders from the king to inform you that instructions have been given to Governor Haldimand to make the necessary preparations for the return of yourself and the troops of his highness, the duke of Brunswick.

"The king has further instructed me to inform you that he has received, during your stay in Canada, the most honorable testimonials in regard to the merits and services of yourself, and the brave conduct of your officers and men.

"I pray to be permitted to add that it gives me special satisfaction to communicate to you the assurance of the good will of his majesty, which, it is his royal wish, to have expressed to you in the best manner possible. "I am, etc.,

"NORTH."

At last, Riedesel, having arranged matters so that his men could start at any moment for their designated place of embarkation, left Sorel with his family for Quebec the early part of July. He had long before this received invitations from Haldimand to visit him. It was his intention to await there the arrival of the transports. The governor received his friends as usual in the most cordial manner; and, although he was not yet recovered from his illness, he did everything to make their last days in Canada as pleasant as possible. In his care for their coming journey he was indefatigable. He also, did everything in his power for the German troops. He had a very pretty villa near Quebec, which he called Montmorency, where he often went with his friends to spend a pleasant hour. He still cherished the hope that he should return to Europe with them; and both the Riedesels and himself made all kinds of plans for a delightful and comfortable journey together.

In the beginning of August, the transports arrived. This obliged General Riedesel to return once more to Sorel to attend to several matters; and as the vessel upon which he was to make this trip was quite roomy and comfortable, and the weather delightful, he took his family with him. Upon his return to Quebec he found everything ready for departure. Haldimand, with his usual forethought, had had a beautiful transport, which was a fast sailer, fitted up and provided with everything necessary for the voyage. Thus, several cabins were furnished in the most comfortable manner, and on the rear deck he had a miniature garden laid out in which (earth having been taken on board) lettuce was planted for use during the voyage. A new milch cow was also sent on board by the special direction of Haldimand, for Riedesel's children to whom he was very much attached.

In the meantime Haldimand received dispatches from London in which he was ordered to remain at his post in Canada. With weeping eyes he communicated this intelligence to Madam Riedesel, adding in a feeling manner, "I had hoped that we should return together; but the king has ordered it differently, and I must obey."

Before his departure, Riedesel presented Haldimand with his favorite horse — a beautiful mare with foal. The latter, also, on his part gave Mrs. Riedesel a muff and tippet of sable "as a remembrance of the country in which she had remained so long." He likewise gave to her eldest daughter, Augusta, whom he playfully called the "little lady," a little dog to which she had taken a great fancy.

The officers, also, manifested their devotion to the family of Riedesel, by giving a theatrical piece written expressly for the occasion, and referring to the approaching voyage. At the close of the performance, the actors sang a song in praise of the German troops, after which one of them addressed the general in a formal speech which spoke in high terms of his friendly treatment of the British troops. The last evening of his stay,

Riedesel, with his family and a few friends, dined at General Haldimand's. At the close of the entertainment the governor, with many of the officers and inhabitants of Quebec, accompanied the travelers to the ship, where they bid them a heartfelt farewell.

Early the next morning, the anchors were hoisted. On the same ship with Riedesel, were his adjutant, his staff officers, Chaplain Mylius, a band of music, and Doctor Kennedy and family.[1] The fleet, under an English commander, arrived safely at Isle de Pic at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Here the ships were obliged to cast anchor, and wait for a favorable wind. This delay lasted fourteen days, causing every one to feel very impatient and exceedingly lonesome. Those who had taken with them fresh meat and vegetables for the voyage, used them up here. The joyfulness, which until now, had been on board the ship, gave place to gloomy silence. And, in addition to this, there was danger of encountering equinoctial storms should the voyage be in any degree prolonged. The idea of having to remain another year in this part of the world, was to every one a sad, yea, a terrible thought. Every one longed for home. But one Sunday morning while divine service was holding on board of the general's ship, and while all were listening to the fervent prayer of Pastor Mylius for a favoring wind, a slight movement of the ship was noticed — a sure sign that the wind had sprung up; and scarcely had the pastor finished his sermon when the command was given to hoist anchor. Instantly every one was on the *qui vive*.

The general, to whom the voyage was very troublesome on account of his health, was exceedingly desirous to reach the English coast as soon as possible. He could be of no use to his troops during the voyage; and, besides, he had dispatches to the king, which he wished to hand him as soon as practicable.

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[1] Doctor Kennedy, the physician of Riedesel's family at Sorel, had asked and obtained permission of the latter to go to England on the same ship.

The captain of the ship, the Quebec, on which the general was, had a great notion of sailing ahead of the fleet; but this could not be allowed without the consent of the commodore; nor was it certain that this could be obtained. An accident, however, helped in this emergency. Two days after getting under way, one of the ships signaled that its captain wished to speak with the commodore. The whole fleet were, therefore, obliged to stop. The commodore, out of politeness, called to the ship of General Riedesel through a speaking trumpet, "Keep on, general," he, of course, expecting that the ship would unite again with the rest of the fleet. But the captain, making this an excuse for sailing ahead, hoisted all his sail, and soon the entire fleet was left behind.

The following day a storm arose, which henceforth lasted more or less during the entire voyage. Still as the ship was now in advance of the fleet, and the wind was at her back, she was driven forward with great rapidity. But one night, one of the sails was blown away, and the ship was thrown on her side, causing every one to fear the worst. The ship was also in danger of fire. A burning smell was noticed. Every place was examined; and, at length, Mrs. Riedesel found in the cabin of Mrs. Doctor Kennedy a string, on which the lantern had hung, on fire. This string was tied around a beam, impregnated with tar, and had it not been for this opportune discovery, it would soon have been in flames. Shortly after this adventure, the ship encountered still another storm in which, this time, she lost one of her masts. And yet, notwithstanding all these troubles (by which the passengers were often in danger of their lives), the captain called it a *favorable wind*. It did not agree with the general, however; and, being unable to sleep at night on his bed, he remained generally upon deck. He was so tired of the voyage, that he one day remarked to his wife that he had rather stay in a pig pen than on board the ship.

Toward the end of the voyage a dense fog arose, causing the captain, who could not exactly discover where he was, to fear

the Scilly islands. He therefore took in his sails, and waited. On the afternoon of the 18th, the fog disappeared, and revealed to them, near at hand, the Isle of Wight, and in the distance the white, chalky coast of England. What a joyous sensation the passengers experienced at being finally so near their journey's end! The ship had sailed with amazing rapidity, having made the distance from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the coast of England in eighteen days.[1] After sailing under a violent wind, and not without danger around the Isle of Wight, she entered at eight o'clock in the evening the bay of St. Helens. The next morning the ship again sailed, and would soon have reached Portsmouth had she not had the misfortune to run on to a sunken man of war[2] in that harbor. In this dangerous position she remained all that day and the following night. Upon once more getting afloat, and entering Portsmouth harbor, chance so ordered it that she ran in between two other ships with which Madam Riedesel was well acquainted. One of them had carried her from England to Canada, and the other from New York to Quebec.

As the vessel, on account of the ebb tide, was unable to reach land, Riedesel chartered a lugger to convey him ashore. This trip cost him considerable; for he was badly cheated, and forced to pay fifteen guineas (over one hundred thalers) for a distance of only half an hour. The next day, Riedesel, accompanied by an adjutant, started from Portsmouth for London in order to hand the king the dispatches he had brought. The latter received him in the most kind and gracious manner. Madam Riedesel arrived in London a few days later.

In London, the family met again many old friends, and among them General Tryon and others who had returned from Ame-

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[1] This was the first ship that had made that distance in so short a time. She ran ahead of a French frigate which made the same distance in nineteen days.—*Note in original.*

[2] Mrs. Riedesel, in her journal, states that this sunken ship was the wreck of the Royal George.

rica. All did their best to make their stay as pleasant as possible. The general and his wife were one evening invited to take tea at the court when no one but the royal family was present. Madam Riedesel was seated between the queen and the oldest princess. She was obliged to relate a great deal of her adventures to the ladies, and she was fully equal to the task, for she had experienced much, and knew how to relate it in an interesting manner. She excelled, indeed, in carrying on a conversation. The king stood near the fire place conversing with the general upon more serious affairs. The former, also, was so obliging as to carry on the conversation in the German language. Riedesel and his wife remained until nearly ten o'clock with the royal family, whom Mrs. Riedesel describes as exceedingly amiable. She writes: "The royal family have, in fact, the gift of taking all constraint from one, so that we felt as if we were with a happy family of our own rank."

During their stay in London, Riedesel and family were the recipients of many proofs of esteem. Persons of high rank, whom he had not hitherto known, paid their respects to him in person. Among these were the secretaries, North and Fox. Such distinctions were at this time, not generally paid in London to foreigners — an evidence that the German general had a good name in that city.

The general wished very much to remain longer in London, and see some of his companions in the seven years' war and the sights of the great metropolis, but the German troops were hurried off, giving him no option in the matter. The latter were again embarked at Deal, a little city on the canal. The equinoctial had just begun; and the weather was so stormy as to render the embarkation dangerous. Fortunately, however, everything was accomplished without accident. Three days were spent in the stormy voyage to Stade. The entering of the Elbe was especially difficult; and the general, who was anxious to get to Stade as soon as possible, was conveyed to the shore in a boat, and thence in a carriage to the city. His wife arrived

there at eleven o'clock in the evening under the escort of the captain of the ship who had carried her from Quebec to England.

The general, wishing to wait for the arrival of his troops, remained here a day longer than his wife, who preceded him to Wolfenbüttel. The latter was met in that town by her lady friends, who had already heard of her arrival. Her house had been prepared for her reception; and she found everything as she had left it seven years ago.

From Stade, Riedesel wrote the following letter to Duke Ferdinand:

"STADE, *September* 26, 1783.

"Gracious Sovereign: Trusting that your highness has received my last letter, sent you by my adjutant, Captain Cleve, I have the honor of announcing to your highness the safe arrival of myself and the rest of the Brunswick troops on the coast of Germany. My health, strange as it may seem, has been, during the whole time, pretty good, but for the past few days I have been suffering from a slight fever, which has weakened me considerably. I hope, however, that air and exercise will aid me again to throw it off.

"Eight days since I was in London, and had the good fortune of being presented to the king. His majesty requested me to give your highness his most friendly compliments, but I shall reserve to myself the pleasure of communicating orally all the expressions of regard and esteem for your person which the king expressed to me on this occasion.

"I had also the pleasure of meeting several officers who enjoyed the protection of your highness during the last war,[1] especially General Conway, General Howard, Chevalier Clinton, and Lord Southampton — all of whom desired to be remembered to you. They are all very much attached to yourself, and openly glory in their affection and regard for their excellent general.

[1] The seven years' war.— *Note in original.*

"I shall remain here a few days in order to draw the money for the subsistence of the troops. I shall then hasten and place myself again at the head of the first division, and remain in whatever garrison to which I am appointed. As soon as I am through with my official duties, I shall hasten to Brunswick to report myself in person to your highness, and solicit the former favor which I have enjoyed, and also to assure your highness of the deep devotion and unalterable attachment with which I shall regard you all the days of my life.

"My wife requests me to remember herself and family to your highness. She waits impatiently for the time when she can pay her respects to you in person. Herself and family are very well. She will remain here a few days, and then go to Brunswick by the shortest route.

"Hoping to be able to wait soon on your highness,

"I have the honor, etc.,

"RIEDESEL."

The march to Wolfenbüttel occupied eight days. On the way he published a circular addressed to the commanders of regiments, thanking them for their devotion and good behavior during the war. It reads as follows:

UELTZEN, *October* 4, 1783.

"As the time is now close at hand when I must lay down the command of those Brunswick troops, known as the English subsidies, and as I am yet in ignorance of my future destination, I cannot let the opportunity pass of expressing to your honors my thanks for the great zeal and fidelity you have manifested in the service, and also for the personal politeness and friendship I have enjoyed from you during the time I have had the honor to command this corps in America; and, although I have thanked all the officers in a general order, yet I request your honors to repeat it again, and to present, in the liveliest colors, my gratitude to the different regiments.

"It would be wrong for the Brunswick corps to believe, that as his most serene highness is satisfied with the conduct of the troops, and possesses complete knowledge of the qualities and merits of each officer, he will not treat every one according to his real deserts. In whatever cases his most serene highness consults me, I shall always faithfully make my report; and I hope that the officers will not ascribe it to me, nor annoy me if some persons are not as pleased as they expected. Whenever I can personally serve your honors, it will always give me the greatest pleasure to do so. In conclusion, be assured that I remain always with the greatest regard,

"RIEDESEL.

"To Lieutenant Colonel Hille,
Lieutenant Colonel Mengen,
Lieutenant Colonel Barner,
Major Maiborn,
Major Lucke,
Major Ehrenkrook,
Lieutenant Colonel Praetorius."

"*To the Commander of the Dragoon Regiment:*

"I shall never forget the special love and attachment which this brave regiment has manifested toward me, nor the readiness with which it has ever met my wishes. It is a real satisfaction to me that his serene highness has such a good opinion of this regiment, that in future, it will be placed on a better footing than it now is, and that the reduction, soon to take place, will, perhaps, have no influence whatever upon this regiment. I pray your honor, to inform not only the officers, but the whole regiment, of this fact, that the latter may be convinced that I have not forgotten its merits. I am, also, in hopes that this assurance will do away with a certain ill humor and dissatisfaction which I have noticed, and enable it to go into garrison with the same honor with which it marched out.

"RIEDESEL."

"*To Lieutenant Colonel Von Hille:*

"As Colonel Von Specht leads the second division as commander of the corps, your honor will lead my regiment into garrison; and, I flatter myself, that unless fate greatly disappoints me, your future destiny will be such as to amply fulfill your brightest anticipations.

"It has always been my custom to require as much as possible of my infantry regiment; and I must here give testimony to the noble manner in which it has surpassed my expectations. I have but one more last demand to make of you and the corps of officers, viz: that you will go into garrison in the same neat and proper dress in which I have seen the regiment at Montreal and Sorel. The details, where it is possible, I leave to you, but you will allow me to work for the general good of the officers as I shall deem proper, and according to my best ability. I feel, also, assured that most of them, if they take a just view of things, will be satisfied with their future lot.

"I remain, etc.,

"RIEDESEL."

On the 8th of October, the general, at the head of the first division, and surrounded by an immense and joyous concourse of people, entered Brunswick. The duke rode out on horseback a part of the way in advance to meet him, and had the soldiers march to the parade ground. The troops, destined for Wolfenbüttel and to whom the general belonged, thereupon marched to that city.

The brave troops brought back with them to their homes, their old loyalty to their beloved ruler. Their fame and glory, notwithstanding so many unhappy circumstances, not only had been kept unstained, but had been brightened by deeds of bravery, and still more by exemplary discipline under misfortune.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

GENERAL RIEDESEL'S CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA.

GENERAL RIEDESEL TO THE REIGNING DUKE, CHARLES OF BRUNSWICK, LÜNEBERG.

CAMBRIDGE, *September* 12, 1778.

Since my report of the middle of June, no alteration has been made in the corps of his serene highness. Desertion increased again during the latter part of June, and lasted about fourteen days, when it ceased again, of its own accord. Since then no case has occurred. On the contrary, some of the deserters returned. They were among those who deserted last winter and hired themselves out to work on the flats hoping in this way to escape the unpleasant life on Winter hill. They have now returned in consequence of the pardon held out by me to deserters generally. The chief reason, perhaps, for the decrease of desertion is the description given by those deserters, who have returned, of the treatment they received during their absence.

But this evil no sooner vanished than it was replaced by another equally as bad, viz.; the great increase of deaths. The extreme heat experienced here during the day (which cannot be compared to that of Germany), and the cool nights have produced dysentery and scorbutic affections generally terminating in diseases of the lungs. Fevers, also, have robbed us within the last four weeks of from forty to fifty men. My infantry regiment and the grenadier battalion, which got along the best in this respect during the last two campaigns, have lately had the most deaths. All possible precautions are taken against these dangerous diseases. I have established regimental hospitals, in which all those who have contagious diseases are kept separate from the rest. Whenever salt meat is furnished to the men, I buy fresh meat and wholesome vegetables for the sick; but all this does not bring about the desired result.

In my last report I mentioned that an officer had been sent to Canada in April, by way of Halifax, to obtain our baggage and

clothing; but, although a long time has elapsed since he went, he has neither returned, nor have we since heard from him. Should these things not arrive myself and the regiments would be placed in a bad fix; for I do not know how the soldiers of the second division would be protected from the cold weather. They have been wearing their uniforms now going on five years. Their coats are so worn out that it is not possible to keep them any longer in repair. Piece after piece of cloth actually falls from them. General Phillips has ordered blankets from New York, and has had coats made for the English regiments in case the clothing should not arrive from Canada before winter. This, however, has been done at the expense of the commanders of regiments, who, by English custom, cloth their own men, and who owe them now two suits of clothing.

As much as I dislike doing anything without instructions from your highness, and as much as I dislike putting you to expense, yet under the circumstances I shall have to adopt similar means. To this course philanthropy and duty alike urge me if I would preserve the men whom you have committed to my care. But I will wait until the last moment, and I am convinced that your highness will not be displeased with me for doing that to which I am forced by necessity.

Our condition is always the same; nor are we informed whether measures have been taken on the part of England for the ratification of the treaty. We have, therefore, no prospect of delivery. How happy would I be if I could receive but a single letter from your highness which might serve as a guide for my future actions.

You no doubt know of all the events which have occurred in the American theatre of war, better than I can tell you, everything being done to prevent good and reliable news from reaching us. The march of Clinton by land from Philadelphia to New York through Jersey — which is considered a masterpiece — was carried out with the greatest skill.

You have no doubt, also heard of the affair of the rear guard at Monmouth, where the rebels were beaten, but claimed the victory for themselves on the ground that the English rear guard, who whipped the American general, Lee, retreated in the evening. The enemy sustained in this action a great loss in dead and wounded, while Clinton lost but few. It is said, however, that he suffered greatly by the desertion, both of English and Germans — a fact that is attributed to the acquaintances which the troops picked up among the Americans during their stay last winter in the province of Pennsylvania.

Scarcely was Clinton nicely located in New York, Staten and

Long islands, when the French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and four frigates under Count D'Estaing, entered the harbor of New York. Lord Howe, who was too weak (his largest ship carried only sixty-four guns), to risk a general engagement, contented himself with defending the entrance to the harbor. In this he was successful, and D'Estaing, seeing the impossibility of success in this quarter sailed for Rhode island, entered the harbor of Newport, and blockaded that town from the water side. At the same time a hostile army, under Sullivan (who had collected it at Providence), landed on Rhode island and attacked repeatedly but vainly the English corps under Pigot, who was in a fortified camp near Newport. The situation of the latter, however, was extremely critical, and there was good cause for alarm unless he was speedily reenforced.

In the hope of creating a diversion in favor of Pigot, Lord Howe with his fleet made his appearance before the harbor of Newport. D'Estaing, misled by this strategy, sailed out of the harbor with the intention of giving battle to the English admiral. The latter, upon this, retreated to a certain distance, and when he thought that he had enticed the French admiral sufficiently far, turned suddenly around, and, in spite of his weakness, attacked the French fleet, used it almost up, and would have gained a complete victory had not a terrible storm come up (the like of which has never been known by the oldest inhabitant), and separated and dispersed both the fleets. Admiral D'Estaing returned to Newport after eight days. Two of his ships with seventy-four cannon were still missing, and his fleet was in a sad condition. In addition to having on board many sick and wounded, the hulls of many vessels were pierced by cannon balls, their masts and rudders lost, and their sails and tackling destroyed. He immediately wrote to Sullivan that his fleet, in consequence of the engagement and the storm, was so damaged that he could not cooperate with the land expedition against Rhode island, nor oppose an English fleet that was expected. On the contrary he would be obliged to go into Boston harbor to refit. Then without waiting for an answer from Sullivan, he sailed into the harbor of Boston in a miserable condition.

Meanwhile, Sullivan, who had continued the attack on Pigot during the absence of the French fleet, but, notwithstanding the fierceness of his attacks and the vigor of his cannonade, had accomplished nothing, raised the siege. While departing, he was attacked by Pigot (who had received reenforcements from Clinton) and lost more than 1,000 men, darkness alone permitting him to cross to the mainland, when he made good his retreat to Providence.

This unsuccessful expedition has caused among the inhabitants great discouragement, and an intense dislike to the French.

The French fleet is here in the harbor, but there being no materials for its repair, especially for the larger masts, it is said that the fleet will not be able to put to sea under three months. D'Estaing desired to have his troops garrisoned in Boston, but was refused. 25,000 pounds of flour and 13,000 pounds of meat have to be furnished daily to the French fleet, *gratis*. A bloody fight occurred in Boston, day before yesterday, between the French and Americans, in which the French officers were stabbed. Mistrust, jealousy and embittered hatred on the part of the populace, have caused such a disagreement between the allies that an extremely tart correspondence has been entered into, and a recurrence of unpleasant scenes may be expected.

Admiral Breymann is said to have arrived finally (after being so long expected), with twelve ships of the line, and to have united with Lord Howe. If this is so, the latter's fleet now consists of twenty-nine ships of the line and twenty-two frigates. It is also rumored that Clinton has sent off a great part of his army on transports. The future will explain this movement.

In my last report, I stated that the endeavors of the English commissioners have been fruitless, and that all proposals for peace had been rejected by congress.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

* *[1] VIRGINIA, *March* 22, 1779.

As there is an opportunity of sending off a letter by the return of the ships, that have brought to us our effects from Canada, I report, that the troops have made the march of 675 English miles from Cambridge to this place, in the roughest season of the year, with the most glorious endurance! Desertion, as the inclosed report will show, though considerable, has not been as great as I expected, from the fact of our having had to march through a district of over 150 miles long, the inhabitants of which are Germans in good circumstances, and who have preserved the old customs of the fatherland. They spent money and used all possible inducements to persuade our soldiers to desert and remain with them. The troops have manifested the best discipline on the march, a fact which is spoken of in America in praise of the men. The copy of the two orders issued by Phillips in regard to this, as also his report to Sir Henry Clinton, and the one from him to the king, will prove to you that the troops, as well as the officers, merit your approbation and favor.

[1] Illegible.

In consequence of the rumor that the province of Virginia was infinitely to be preferred to that of Massachusetts bay, we promised ourselves that our soldiers would be placed in a much better position than in Cambridge, and would thus be repaid for the fatigues during their long march. But greatly to our surprise we find it the reverse in every particular. We were sent to one of the most out of the way plantations inhabited by poor people, where there is no communication with the sea, and where not even the most necessary articles for the support of the soldiers, or the smallest articles of clothing could be procured for money. On the place which was appointed to the men for dwellings, formerly stood miserable huts called barracks, but which were now in ruins. Here the soldiers had to spend over fourteen days in the snow, which was from two to three feet deep, until they had built themselves huts with their own hands, to protect them somewhat from the snow and rain.

It is my duty to report to your highness the care and discipline with which the march has been conducted by Brigadier General and Colonel Specht during my absence.

Our sick were transported by water from Cambridge, and will arrive here with the remainder of the ships that contain the rest of our baggage. I remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

NEW YORK, *February* 24, 1780.

It is impossible for me to describe to your highness my disappointment at the possible loss of all my reports, by which I shall be deprived of an answer to all my several inquiries which I have repeated in every successive report since my last one of 1778, from Cambridge. These inquiries were of a personal nature to myself. They were, whether your highness considered my presence of more importance to the troops of the convention, who have melted down to 800 men, or to the active troops who have increased in Canada to 2,000 men; and further, whether I shall, in the latter case, request Sir Henry Clinton for a particular exchange, or in the former, return to the convention troops in Virginia. And although it will be hard for a man of my age to spend his best years — which might be used for the good of the service — in mournful captivity with a handful of unarmed men, and in a climate which is so detrimental to my health that I shall die if I return thither, yet I will be influenced neither by inclination nor personal interest, but will implicitly follow the wish of your highness.

There is once more a new prospect for a general exchange. The captured American officers here, have at last, after repeated requests,

succeeded in inducing congress to propose negotiations for a general cartel. Sir Henry Clinton, on his part, has consented to it; and General Phillips is our first commissioner assisted by Colonels Gordon and Nathern, of the English guard. This new commissioner will commence business on the 1st of March, at Amboy. If they had to deal with men of faith and truth, I, myself, could believe, yes and even *assure* your highness that this matter of exchange would be accomplished, and that your troops, who have been in captivity for the last two and a half years since the broken convention, would soon be exchanged.

But alas! I know the principles of congress too well. It would seem as if that body makes this offer only with a view of hushing the many voices of the complaining officers; and knowing well that such a cartel will only result to their disadvantage and our advantage, they will place so many impediments in its way, and ask for measures that it will be impossible for us to grant without violating the honor and interests of the king, that the cartel will be defeated. I could wish that I am wrong in my opinion.

Since my last report of December 3d, in which I announced the departure of Sir Henry Clinton with 1,200 men, nothing has occurred worth mentioning. No news concerning him has yet reached us.

A cold spell, the like of which is not remembered by the oldest inhabitant, has frozen over the North and East rivers so that they can be crossed with wagons and artillery. This circumstance greatly endangered our long extended chain of outposts from Paul's hook, Staten island, Long island, King's bridge and the garrison at New York. Each of these posts was exposed to an attack of the enemy with superior numbers, and we could not lose one of these posts and hold New York.

At first, it seemed as if General Washington intended to profit by this favorable opportunity. He ordered Lord Stirling to cross on the ice from Elizabethtown to Staten island, but want of order, missing of roads, and other impediments frustrated the first plan of the Americans,[1] which was to surprise our troops on Staten island at night; for on the next morning they found us prepared to receive them in our fortifications. The Americans marched up against it, but did not feel disposed to storm it, and retired again, the following night to Elizabethtown, after robbing the poor inhabitants on the island. Brigadier Sterling took several prisoners from our rear guard, and many froze to death.

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[1] It will be observed that Riedesel does not speak so frequently of the Americans as *rebels*, as he did in the beginning of the war.—*Translator.*

This unsuccessful undertaking, on the part of Washington, was of great benefit to us, for it reminded us of the danger in which we were; and our defenses were consequently increased two fold. The posts of Paul's hook and Staten island, and also the garrison at New York, were reenforced. The citizens of this city offered to take arms and defend it themselves. Five thousand of them were accordingly armed. New York being thus safe, we began to act on the offensive with detachments.

A detachment from Staten island went twice to Elizabethtown, driving away the post there each time. A detachment from Paul's hook did the same with one at Newark. General Mathew at King's bridge, detached Colonel Gordon, with 400 men, to White Plains, who either killed or captured a post of the enemy consisting of a colonel and 250 men. These small expeditions brought us in 1 colonel, 3 staff officers, between 20 and 30 other officers, and upward of 300 prisoners. General Washington, also, according to all the intelligence we received, threatened us with a general attack, lost his offensive spirit entirely, and since then, notwithstanding the best opportunities, has undertaken nothing.

Washington has also refused me permission to send Lieutenant Cleve to Germany.

I again ask for orders as to my future conduct,

and remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

THE HEREDITARY PRINCE TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

SCHÖNEWALD, *June* 11, 1778.

Right Honorable Sir, and Highly Respected Major General:

I had the pleasure of receiving your honor's letter, dated April the 2d, on the 10th of this month at this place. I thank you very much for it. Be assured that I heartily sympathize with you in everything which has occurred to you in this unhappy American expedition, and exceedingly lament the sad fate of our brave men who have merited such glorious encomiums from their worthy chief. But do not in the least doubt that I do full justice to your conduct, your judgment, and the noble zeal which you have shown, under the most critical circumstances, for the welfare of the corps. Be assured, also, that I appreciate the pains you have taken in the preservation of this corps in their present lamentable situation, and your energetic and unselfish exertions in their behalf. I shall, most gladly, use

every opportunity to manifest to you by my actions this sentiment; and, it shall always be my delight to be of any service to the corps under your command.

Wishing you all possible success, and assuring you of my perfect esteem,

I remain, etc.,
CHARLES,
Crown Prince of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

BRUNSWICK, *May* 29, 1780.[1]

My Dear Major General:

It has given me great pleasure to hear, through Captain Cleve, from yourself and the captured troops; and I beg you to feel assured that you have my hearty sympathy in all your difficulties. I consider it, moreover, my special duty to inform you that the people of Brunswick, and, in fact, the entire judgment of Germany, do you perfect justice. I cannot omit here remarking that I am entirely satisfied with Captain Cleve and his whole conduct while here. He has given me, in every respect, the most perfect satisfaction. With the best wishes for the welfare of yourself and the troops, and with the assurance of my high esteem.

I remain, always,
Your most faithful friend and servant,
CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND.

To Major General Von Riedesel.

GENERAL RIEDESEL TO CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND.

BROOKLYN ON LONG ISLAND, *June* 6, 1781.

I closed my last report of military operations in this quarter, with the victory of Lord Cornwallis, near Guilford Court House, all the forces of General Green — the latter of whom was completly shattered. The destination of the corps, under Major General Phillips, was then unknown; but I am now able to report that he has gone, with the largest part of his corps, through a complicated manœuvre,

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[1] Answered September 10, 1780.

having marched first into the vicinity of Williamsburg and York in Virginia, and thence to Petersburg, where he dispersed a body of 1,500 rebels, with the loss of a few hundred men. Thence he marched against Richmond, when he partly destroyed the enemy's warehouses of tobacco, ammunition, provisions, etc. He also burned a few of the public buildings, ships and bateaux. The loss, suffered by the rebels in this excursion, is immense. All the magazines for Green's army were destroyed, and all the important articles destined for the French fell into our hands. They are thus almost entirely deprived of the means with which to continue the war against us in the south.

While on his march to Portsmouth (our established post in Virginia), General Phillips received a letter from Lord Cornwallis informing him that the writer, intended marching from Wilmington to Petersburg, and inviting his cooperation in this movement. General Phillips, therefore, turned back toward Petersburg, where he came very nearly intercepting General Lafayette, who, on learning of Phillip's advance, retreated to Richmond in the greatest haste. A large number of adjutants, aid de camps, quartermasters and engineers were found and captured at Petersburg. Here, General Phillips, in expectation of the arrival of Cornwallis, established himself, but on the 10th of May, he was taken dangerously ill of inflammatory fever, and died on the 15th of the same month, to the greatest sorrow of all who knew him either personally or by reputation.

The commanding general, Sir Henry Clinton, who, as I believe, had, some time ago, a strong notion of going himself to Virginia, sent four additional battalions from New York, viz; two from Anspach, and the 17th and 34th regiments as reenforcements for the corps in Virginia. These arrived on the 24th of May, at Petersburg.

Cornwallis's *Theatre de la Guerre* is bloodier, and, to the eyes of the people, seems greater and more heroic than that of other generals elsewhere; but the extremely large territory on the one hand, and the enthusiasm of a few of the different partisans on the other, have, since the battle of Camden, split up the army in such a manner, that, occasionally, we have suffered here and there unpleasant affronts. In the hope of finding North Carolina ready to take up arms for us in large numbers, Cornwallis was induced to leave all his communications and march into the centre of that province. General Green and all the rest of the rebels retreated before him. Our army surmounted all possible difficulties and fatigues; but the number of sick soon weakened it more than it was strengthened by additions. Indian corn, merely ground between two stones, was the subsistence of the soldiers, and the month of March, the army of Cornwallis scarcely numbered 1,500 men.

Meanwhile, General Green rallied all the troops that could be collected in Virginia and all those that General Washington could send him from his army, and, believing that Cornwallis was sufficiently weakened and in need of subsistence, crossed the Roanoke and advanced against the latter. Cornwallis then perceived that he had advanced too far, and that North Carolina would not take up arms against the rebels to the extent he and every one had been led to expect. He believed it too hazardous, if, indeed, it was not impossible to retreat to Camden — a distance of over 500 miles — with a handful of men and before a refreshed army, and he, therefore, bravely determined to attack General Green. He did so, beat him, captured his artillery, and made several prisoners. But, although Green's army was dispersed, and the country laid open to us, the position of Cornwallis was no better than before. He had now about 300 men wounded, with no wagons to carry them. This circumstance, together with a weary army and a scarcity of provisions, caused Cornwallis to march to Wilmington near Cape Fair where some ships laden with supplies for the army had arrived from Charleston. He arrived at that place safely, and refreshed his army. Although Cornwallis knew that Green had retreated beyond the mountains into South Carolina, thus endangering the posts he had left behind in South Carolina at Camden, Ninety-six, Augusta, beyond the Congaree, and at Georgetown, he, nevertheless, resolved to march eastward, and unite with the troops of Phillips at Petersburg. This he accomplished on the 19th of May. Time must show what reasons Cornwallis had for pursuing this course, and what he will now do.

The present situation in South Carolina is as follows: Lord Rawdon, with a single regiment of infantry and a few combined detachments, is fortified at Camden. A detachment of a few hundred men, for the communication with Charlestown, is beyond the Congaree river. Another detachment, consisting of provincials, is at Ninety-six; while Augusta to the left, and Georgetown to the right, are occupied by our troops. General Green, whose army was entirely dispersed at the battle of Guildford Court House, has rallied another army of 3,000 to 4,000 men beyond the mountains, and marched against Camden, where he besieged Rawdon for a few days. This brave young man came out with his garrison, attacked Green, and forced him to retreat. The remainder of our above named posts are all in great danger, and the communication between Lord Rawdon and Charlestown very much threatened. Should Green persist in his desire to conquer South Carolina (Charlestown excepted), it is not impossible he may do so while Cornwallis is at so great a distance from him. In truth Rawdon's situation is very precarious.

It is easy to judge of the situation of New York and the troops under Sir Henry Clinton, by the detachments sent over there from here from time to time. It is more appropriate to call it a garrison of New York and environs than an army; and, until the arrival of the expected reenforcements from England, neither a Hannibal nor a Turenne could originate or execute offensive operations in this part of North America. A portion of the French troops from Rhode island have formed a junction with Washington on the Croton river toward the east side of the North river, and act as though they designed assuming the offensive. I believe it is still uncertain (perhaps it is not yet decided), what Sir Henry Clinton intends doing after the arrival of the reenforcements from England — how the two generals will agree upon different points — and where the *coup d'eclat* will be.

Admiral Arbuthnot cruises between Rhode island and the Chesapeake bay with everything that can be called a war vessel. He has three objects in view. To prevent a hostile fleet entering the Chesapeake bay; to watch the manœuvres of the French fleet near Rhode island, and to intercept a French fleet, said to consist of thirty transports, with troops, magazines, provisions, etc., and to be escorted by a man-of-war of sixty-four guns, and three frigates. It is hoped for the good of the cause, that Admiral Arbuthnot will soon go to England; nor will the expeditions on land and on sea ever be harmonious until this change takes place.

Admiral Rhodes seems to have fallen in love with the treasures of St. Eustace, and, with General Brougham, has his quarters there still. He sent Admiral Hood with eleven ships of the line westward to destroy a fleet which was expected from France, and which was said to consist of many merchant vessels, under the escort of a few men-of-war and frigates. But instead of capturing a quantity of booty, he was received by twenty-two ships of the line and a host of transports filled with men, and had hard work to escape. A naval engagement took place, in which a large number were killed on both sides, and three of Hood's ships were badly damaged. He was so fortunate, however, as not to lose a single ship. For what purpose these large reenforcements are sent to the West Indies by France, and what the result it will be, time alone will show. I fear they are aiming at the south side of this continent, and our establishments in that quarter. It is a problem to me, how the secretary and Lord Sandwich can permit a French fleet to go to sea without at once sending adequate reenforcements to those places threatened by it. We always lose the time for a campaign; and the blood of many men has to pay for this neglect.

This news, in regard to our situation, which has been gathered in every way, and which is entirely reliable, I send to your serene highness for your private use. If it is not so understood it may prove detrimental to me.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

P. S. The dispatches not having as yet gone, I have still an opportunity of adding, that yesterday, the 10th instant, Brigadier Arnold, with his own and the Robertson regiment of the provincials, arrived here from Virginia, and brought the intelligence that Cornwallis left Petersburg to attack the Marquise de Lafayette at Richmond. The latter, however, at his approach, fell back, crossed the James river, made a halt between the Ravana and Flouvana rivers, twenty-eight miles from Richmond. It is said that Cornwallis intends pursuing him still further and thus become master of Virginia.

LETTERS OF GENERAL RIEDESEL TO THE DUKE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICKLÜNEBURG.

CAMBRIDGE, *March* 7, 1778.

I had the pleasure of receiving, by the way of Rhode island, your letter of the 3d of last month, which you were so kind as to send me.

I wish I could add to this letter a continuation of the journal, filled with heroic deeds and conquests; but, unfortunately, fate has cut asunder the thread of glory, and nothing is left us but to prove publicly, at the proper time, that this misfortune was not brought upon us by any cause of mine or of the troops who are under my command — *those troops*, who have fought four times so gloriously, and were praised in the published order of the day.

The troops are suffering great tortures in their present position; but they bear it with great firmness, and without murmuring. They are quiet, and commit no excesses. Congress refuses us permission to return to England; and unless it changes its resolution, we shall have to remain in this lamentable situation until peace is made.

Nothing can console us but the sympathy of the public and our countrymen. As for me, it will be my only comfort if I can flatter myself that I retain the favor of our serene highness in the future. To merit this is my sole endeavor.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

CAMBRIDGE, *March* 26, 1778.

As Colonel Amstruther returns to England on parole, I embrace the opportunity to send your highness another letter. I trust that the letter, with the documents belonging to it, which I sent by Captain Green at the beginning of this month, has safely arrived. The officer whom General Burgoyne sent to congress to protest against its resolution not to allow the convention troops to depart — has returned with the curt answer, "That congress will not alter in any way its resolution until the king himself has ratified the convention." Thus, our unhappy fate is now settled, and there is no other hope of escaping this slavery but that of an exchange, which may be put off a long while.

Not knowing what may be reported in England in regard to our sad situation, I have written the following article for the sake of justifying the conduct of myself and the troops in the sight of your highness; and to prove that it contains nothing else than the truth, I have had all of the staff officers sign it after a consultation. I keep the original for the sake of warding off all the attacks which may be made on our troops, or in case the general should seek to lay the blame on them, which, however, I do not believe he will do. If none of these surmises be correct, and nothing of the kind takes place, I will burn the document without making any further use of it, and shall take the liberty of asking the same of your serene highness.[1]

I have thought it my duty to answer this, and Colonel Amstruther will, as soon as he arrives in England, insert, in my name, in the *London News* the following answer:

CAMBRIDGE, *March* 26, 1778.

To our great surprise we have read in the *London News* an infamous lie in reference to the conduct of the German troops, under the command of General Burgoyne, to the effect, that many Germans deserted, and many did not fight with bravery. It is not necessary to answer such a slander, since the praises which have twice been given publicly by General Burgoyne to the German troops in regard to their bravery and their good conduct, proves the reverse; while the lists of the losses of the army during the last campaign will show that at least three Englishmen have deserted to one German.

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[1] This document is the same that is published in full in the body of this work, under the name of Riedesel's military *Memoir*. A portion of it is also given in *The Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel.— Translator.*

The journal and the reports of the corps, I will send at the first opportunity.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

CAMBRIDGE, *May* 9, 1778.

Although I fear that I shall seem presumptuous in troubling your highness with meaningless letters, the consequence of the barren and dreary situation in which we unfortunately are at present, yet my devotion to your highness, and the remembrance of favors received, urge me to go beyond the limits of duty.

Our sad situation — without the least prospect of a change — desertion, which arises among the troops from misery, inactivity, and the persuasions of many recruiters and the humiliating treatment to which we are every moment subjected by the inhabitants of this country, oppress my spirits and enervate my body to such an extent that I doubt whether I shall ever again see my fatherland. Surely I shall not, unless some happy accident extricates us from this labyrinth. How fortunate I would be, had I never seen this continent.

We amuse ourselves in our inactivity, with all kinds of news, the most interesting of which is, a declaration of war between France and England, the expected arrival of commissioners from England to make peace with the Americans, and the recall of Lord Howe, with the rumor that Lord Amherst will assume the command in America. Time will show whether these news items are true or not.

Major Latterlohe, who was the duke's agent in England, shines here as deputy quarter master general to Washington. He had the audacity to send his compliments to me; but I returned him the answer that I had no acquaintance with a man of his character.

I held it my duty to communicate to Lord Germain my remarks concerning the document of General Burgoyne, referring to the last campaign. My brother will hand this to you, and you will be convinced that it is the naked truth. It is sad that English pride does not allow the least satisfaction to foreign troops, even, when according to all principles of right and justice they deserve it; as, for instance, was the case of our soldiers in the last campaign.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

CAMBRIDGE, *June* 9, 1778.

Your gracious letter of September has given me the greatest joy. How changed is our situation, since, happy in the thought of being conquerors, we expected to meet General Howe in Albany, and hoped we would finish the war with that campaign! In place, however, of such splendid prospects we were surrounded and surrendered, and the fortune of war placed us in our present sad situation. The only consolation in our misfortune is, that he who sacrificed us, and who was the cause of our calamities, has been recalled. But in my present unhappy condition, I cannot trust myself to speak. I have no other news to mention to your highness, except the movements of General Clinton, who is a talented and enterprising man, which will decide our fate. It is said that he has already opened the campaign with success, but this is all rumor, for the correctness of which I dare not vouch.

I wish and hope that our liberation may soon enable me to write longer and more interesting letters. For the present I must close, assuring you, etc.

RIEDESEL.

ALBANY, *October* 21, 1778.[1]

I suppose that your highness has seen the letter from my master, the duke, containing the most sad intelligence in regard to our army, and that portion of the Brunswick troops that is with it. My conscience is clear. I was only a subordinate general on that occasion. No one asked my opinion, and I could do nothing else than carry out the orders given me. The damage it does to my name and that of my troops, is all that grieves me. My soul is yet so sad, that I am unable either to give a detailed report, or send a journal. As soon, however, as we arrive at Boston, I shall have the honor to send you a faithful account of the whole affair. I may possibly be blamed, and since those who are absent are, of course, always in the wrong, much will be said against me. But I am convinced that your highness will stand by me until the whole matter is investigated, and until it is evident that the entire cause of this misfortune is due solely to poor combinations, and the gracious purpose of General Burgoyne.[2] I remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

[1] This is the date as given in the German edition, but of course it is an error — the true date being 1777, the year previous.— *Translator.*

[2] The meaning of the latter clause in this last sentence is not clear, unless it is intended for irony.— *Translator.*

CAMBRIDGE, *November* 10, 1778.

Eight days ago I received your gracious letter, for which I thank you. I have taken the liberty of sending you several letters since the unlucky day which witnessed the beginning of our captivity. Even if only a few of these letters have reached you, you will know what has occurred since our unlucky campaign, also the reason of this campaign and the unfortunate state of affairs resulting from it.[1] I shall rejoice very much, if I receive but one letter from your highness this year after the news of our misfortune has reached you.[2]

Congress having emphatically declared, that it would not liberate the convention troops unless the convention, concluded between General Burgoyne and General Gates, was ratified by his British majesty, and the authority, even, conferred by the king upon the commissioners having been rejected, all hope of liberation has vanished, nothing save a decisive victory by Clinton can bring us hope. That might bring about an exchange.

Our troops, with the exception of some vagabonds, who have deserted, have borne all their misery and wretchedness with the most noble firmness. But since congress has determined, under a frivolous pretext, to send our troops from here to Virginia, a journey of 700 English miles, in the middle of winter, it is uncertain whether they will bear their fatigues with the same endurance. It is equally uncertain, how many I shall succeed in bringing with me to our new place of destination.

We have the best of verbal promises from General Clinton, that he will use his utmost endeavors, to have us exchanged as soon as possible. Time will show how soon he will be able to carry out his promises; and should I in a little while have the pleasure of writing you from New York, then its contents will be more interesting, and its style less melancholy.

Our situation being so miserable, and that which occurs among us being of so little interest, I have ceased keeping a journal, but I will begin it again as soon as we are liberated, and I will not fail to once more forward it to you with the same punctuality as of old. I have sent to my master, the duke, several plans of positions, battles, etc., relating to the campaign of 1777, which I am confident he has shown to your highness. The fear that the package might be too large to be

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[1] Duke Ferdinand wrote on the margin of this letter: "They have all reached me, and I have also answered them."

[2] The duke wrote again on the margin: "It is strange that no letter of this year (1778), has yet reached him."

smuggled to New York by an officer, prevented me from sending you a duplicate of them.

My wife and children, who, thank God, are well, desire to be remembered to your highness. I am anxious to see how they will endure the long journey hence to Virginia; but I have confidence that the same providence, who has so wonderfully protected them hitherto, will also care for them in the future.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

NEW YORK, *December* 8, 1779.

On my arrival here, the 29th of November, I was so fortunate as to receive two letters from your highness; one, dated November 23d, 1778, and the other, February 11th, 1779. These are the first letters I have received since your highness learned of the unfortunate capitulation at Saratoga. I thank you for the sympathy you manifest, and for the assurance of your favor, which is dearer to me than all else.

You tell me, that one must have firmness under misfortune. I have endeavored to keep up good heart in the presence of the public and the troops, as though I had forgotten our misfortune; but grief has taken deep root in my heart, and it is altogether impossible for me to forget this calamity. My constitution has entirely changed, and I have scarcely seen a well day since the event.

I do not understand why the plans have not been transmitted to your highness as I requested. If Gerlach can gather anything from his *Bruillions*, the same plans shall be finished again during this winter. I will send them myself to you, when completed.

You will wonder at receiving this letter from New York, dated in the month of September.[1] While I was in the back settlements at a watering place, General Phillips wrote me by an express messenger, that it was the desire of Sir Henry Clinton, that he and I should go to New York upon parole. We hastily entered upon our journey and are now here, without knowing definitely what is to be done with me, or whether my gracious master will consent to my absence from the troops. Time and circumstances will enlighten me in regard to everything, which is now a mystery.

The opening of the campaign in this quarter was nothing less than brilliant.[2] Sir Henry Clinton made an offensive movement across the

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[1] Probably a misprint for *December*, the month in which this letter is dated.— *Translator.*

[2] Ironical (?).— *Translator.*

North river. The two surprises at Stony-point and Pauli-hook, although of little importance, have caused the fame of the army to be considerably diminished, and has inspired the Americans with fresh zeal. The capture of St. Vincents in Grenada, and the defeat of Byron's fleet in the West Indies, have so elated Count D'Estaing, that he undertook an attack upon Savanna in Georgia. Nor does he confine himself to this alone, but already speculates upon an attack on New York, after his first plan shall have been successful. Having united with General Washington, he began his preparations. Savanna was in great danger. Sir Henry Clinton made a retrograde movement for the purpose of concentrating his forces in the vicinity of New York; and every measure for defense is now being taken against this combined attack.

General Prescott has repulsed three attacks of Count D'Estaing and the American general, Lincoln. The former was twice wounded. He reembarked, and left the coast. Lincoln also fell back with the loss of Charlestown in South Carolina. Sir Hyde Parker, in the West Indies, has captured eighteen French ships, and from thirty to fifty *vaisseaux*, laden with provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries for the fleet of Count D'Estaing.

Ten thousand men are now being embarked here for some important destination, where, no one knows. It seems, however, as though fortune was again inclining toward us, and the cloud now hanging over our horizon would soon lift. God grant it!

In case I receive permission from Washington (our parole extends only to America), I will send my adjutant, Lieutenant Cleve, to Brunswick, to bring me the wishes of my gracious master, in regard to myself and troops, and that he may report orally, since it is impossible to intrust more to paper in my present situation. He will deliver to you the journal from the time I was no longer able to send it. He will also be able to answer all questions, which you may ask him in regard to it. He has orders to tell you everything that he and I know anything about.

My wife desires to be remembered to your highness. Sir Henry Clinton, to whom I mentioned the fact of my writing to you, desires me to give you his humblest respects.

I remain, etc.

RIEDESEL.

NEW YORK, *March* 25, 1780.

I hope these lines will meet with better luck than all the letters, which I wrote your highness in the year 1779, and which, apparently,

have never reached their destination, since Privy Councillor Ferronce tells me, in his letter of the 30th of October, that no other letters had been received from me at that time, but those written before my departure from Cambridge. Yet I have written five letters to you between the time of my arrival in Virginia and the middle of the month of June. All of these arrived in New York, and were thence dispatched to Europe.

Lieutenant Cleve, my adjutant, is the fortunate bearer of this letter to you. He is ordered to tell your highness everything that has occurred not only where we are, but in the whole of America. He is instructed in regard to all matters, and, indeed, knows everything that I know myself. I have instructed him to tell you everything without reserve, and to entirely pour out his heart to you, and ask your advice upon several matters while he remains in Brunswick. I also take the liberty to recommend him to the consideration of your highness. He is a very good officer, bears an excellent character, and has rendered important services during my sojourn in this part of the world, especially since my health has been so poor as to unfit me to attend to my usual business. I will not enter upon the news here in detail, since Cleve can report it verbally and more explicitly. He will deliver over to you the journal, and will be able to answer any questions you may ask him.

Captain Gerlach, whom I intrusted with the making of the plans for you (which plans, by a misunderstanding were not transmitted to you by Mr. Ferronce), has requested me now to send them to you by this favorable opportunity. They are not all finished, but he will send those that are not yet done by the next opportunity. I think it will not be longer than fourteen days.

I have the pleasure of informing your highness that my wife, who sends her humble respects, was delivered of a daughter on the 8th of this month. Mother and child are both enjoying good health.

I remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

NEW YORK, *May* 14, 1780.[1]

I avail myself of the departure of Captain Geismar of the Hesse Hanau regiment, who has been exchanged, to pay my respects to your highness in another letter. I hope Lieutenant Cleve has brought you my last letter of March. I am still in the same uncertainty as regards my own movements; being here, in consequence

[1] Received June 28, 1780; answered July 1, 1780.

of orders from the commander in chief, without knowing the reason. Neither am I as yet acquainted with the wishes of the duke, and know not, therefore, what to ask of the commander in chief, or what to refuse. I hope that everything will be made clear to me after the return of Sir Henry Clinton, and upon receiving the orders of my gracious master by Cleve.

On the 24th of April we received news from Charlestown, which leads me to believe that the city and the rebel army will be in our power in a few days. It is nevertheless true, however, that since then we have not heard a word from them, which causes us to feel somewhat uneasy. We hear from England that a French fleet intends to pay either New York, Charleston or Canada a visit; and since Marquise Lafayette has arrived with important matters for congress, it is not to be doubted that France is about firing a large bomb-shell, but it is yet uncertain where it will burst. All necessary measures are being taken for the defense of this island; reenforcements amounting to 1,000 men, have been sent to Canada; and I trust that Sir Henry will soon succeed in capturing Charlestown.

The populace of Philadelphia are so enraged against the Marquise de Luceran, the French minister, that he was obliged to flee in the night to Washington's head quarters; and matters are at present sb mixed, that it may reasonably be expected that the revolution will terminate, unless France achieves some success, and thus cheer up those who are downcast. The English flag still maintains the supremacy on the West India islands, notwithstanding the arrival of French reenforcements.

I think I shall be able to communicate to you more interesting news in the course of four or six weeks, which I both believe and flatter myself will be good. For the present, I can only solicit your favor for myself and family, and remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

NEW YORK, *June* 28, 1780.

I have good reason to fear that your highness has not received my several letters which I sent you, viz: three from Virginia in May, June and July. My adjutant was the bearer of the first one. Since my arrival here, I have written you in December; a second time in February; a third time in March by my adjutant; a fourth time by the Brigantine Le Flay; a fifth time by Captain Geismar of the Hesse Hanau troops, and a sixth time in May. Captain Gerlach had the good fortune to receive two letters from your highness since then, which confirms me in my doubts that you have never received mine.

I have heard with sorrow of your grief upon the death of your most illustrious brother, my gracious duke and master. Allow me to present my condolence on this sad event. This loss adds to my melancholy feelings; for in losing my most gracious duke, who has always acted toward me and my family, like a father, I lose a protector. My gratitude and affection he will have through all eternity. It is fortunate for me that he still lives, who is the founder of that happiness, which I enjoy in his service by giving me his support during the first reverses in military life.

By the surrender of Charlestown we are filled with fresh hope of liberation. Seven generals, about three hundred officers, and almost four thousand prisoners of war are in the hands of Sir Henry. There is now ample inducement for the exchange of the convention troops, and our prisoners of war, and we will even then have a considerable balance in our favor. General Lincoln, who has asked permission of Clinton to visit congress for two months to work for the exchange of his garrison, has arrived in Philadelphia. Our destiny depends on his negotiation. Should he succeed in inducing congress to take the initiatory step in asking for an exchange, Sir Henry will not hesitate in holding out his hand to such a desirable project; and I shall then have the pleasure of again bringing together all the troops of my gracious sovereign.

General Clinton is at present encamped at Philipsburg, on the White Plains, for the purpose of guarding against a French fleet which is expected. If Admiral Graves comes up in time this attempt will be in vain. If not, even then, it may yet be confidently expected the genius of the general, and the bravery of his army will make this the complement of Savannah. It is said that Sir Henry is in despair because this watching hinders him from following up his advantage by another expedition into Virginia.

I hope my adjutant, Lieutenant Cleve, has delivered to you my dispatches, and proved himself worthy of your favor. It was truly fortunate that providence should have caused me to send him just at the change in the administration. He will assuredly bring me the commands of my new master; and I will then not be in danger of erring from ignorance of the will of my sovereign.

I remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL.[1]

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[1] The duke wrote on this letter: "I was perfectly convinced that I had answered all the letters I have received. It may be that he had not received my letters."

NEW YORK, *Sept.* 8, 1780.

Will your highness permit me to return you my sincerest thanks for the kindness you have shown to my adjutant, Captain Cleve,[1] who returned here on the 2d of September; also for the kind letter which you had the goodness to write me.

No news whatever has occurred since my last letter. The two French armies remain perfectly inactive, notwithstanding reenforcements.

I have been very ill and my recovery was doubted. I now begin to gain a little, but am still very weak, and my physician forbids my writing. I am thus forced to shorten my letter against my will; but I hope to gain sufficient strength soon to write you, and give more news and details in regard to our present situation.

Meanwhile, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

NEW YORK, *September* 28, 1780.

Believing that your highness is interested in every fortunate that happens to me, I have the honor of communicating to you, that an exchange has been finally signed after a captivity of three years and nine months. The negotiations are not yet finished, but I flatter myself that this exchange will be extended to all prisoners of war, and a portion of the convention officers. Washington, however, will will not be in favor of an exchange of all the troops. I am at present entirely at the disposal of Sir Henry; and my departure for Canada and entire fate depends on him. As yet he has not informed me what his intentions in regard to me are.

Lieutenant Herstal has sent to me the two kind letters of your highness. Upon Captain Cleve communicating to me the opinions of your highness, I sent the proper orders to Virginia for the return of young Schuler and Brigadier Specht. As soon as he arrives here, I will do my best to send him to Europe, according to your wishes.

Since my last letter of last month, nothing has occurred here worthy of mention. Sir Henry had a beautiful project for taking West-point by treason, by which he would have become master of the North river as far as Albany. There was an understanding with General Arnold, who was in command of this fortified place, and who now serves as brigadier general in our army.

Unfortunately, Major Andre, adjutant of Sir Henry, who had been

[1] He had gone over to Germany as a *lieutenant*.

dispatched in disguise to arrange the plan with Arnold and inspect the place, was captured. The project was thus discovered, and poor Andre fell a sacrifice to the intrigue. Every one feels sorry for the poor man; and Sir Henry was more in despair at losing him than at the failure of the undertaking.[1]

A corps of 6,000 men, under General Leslie, started on an expedition fourteen days ago. Its destination is believed to be south, but no one knows anything about it. It is hoped that we shall hear good news from it soon. The rebels are much alarmed at it. We captured, a few days since, a courier on his way from Washington's army to Boston. I send to you a few of the letters which were taken from him, and which were printed by order of Sir Henry. The reading of these letters will prove to you what cannibals the rebels are, and what dissatisfaction and uneasiness exists among their army throughout the whole continent. They also do not show that they have any too much confidence in their new allies.

There is talk of a second embarkation, and that Sir Henry intends to strike a grand blow; also that Sir George Rodney designs attacking the French fleet in New York harbor with the cooperation of Sir Henry from the land. The future will show how much truth there is in these reports.

Medical advice obliges me to close this letter against my will.

Believe me, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

NEW YORK, *November* 10, 1780.[2]

Hoping that your highness has received the letter which I sent fourteen days since by the packet Roebuck, Captain Bournabe, I embrace the opportunity, caused by the departure of my adjutant, Captain Willoe, for England, to report as follows: Sir Henry, in pursuance of your request, has arranged for the exchange of Ensign Bode of the regiment Rhetz. Colonel Specht, Captain Cleve, and Lieutenant Burgsdorf are exchanged, and I expect them here every moment. I hope Colonel Specht will bring with him young Schuler. I have requested him to do so in three successive letters.

Nothing new has occurred since my last, except that we hear that General Leslie disembarked on the James river in Virginia, and

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[1] In several historical works it is stated that Andrè went in uniform to Arnold, but put on a disguise before returning by the advice of the latter. This statement seems to be erroneous.

[2] Received January 17, 1781.

captured a considerable magazine at Petersburgh, which the rebels had erected there for the army of General Gates in North Carolina.

It seems that this expedition of Leslie is part of the plan which Cornwallis intends to carry out against the army of General Gates, and thus extend his lines in the southern part of the continent. Time will show whether the project results well. Your letter to Cornwallis has been sent by Major General Von Bose of the Hessians, by the way of Charlestown.

Admiral Rodney will sail with his fleet from Lundy, and go first to the West Indies. Admiral Arbuthnot is still near the French fleet in the harbor of the Rhode island. Our fleet from Cork, with provisions, etc., which is so much looked for, has not yet arrived. The army of Sir Henry Clinton has gone into winter quarters, and Washington keeps very quiet.

General Phillips, after his exchange, was placed in command of the grenadiers, the light infantry and the 42d British regiment. This is the *elite* corps of the army. He is full of joy, and requests me to remember him to your highness.

I remain, etc.,

RIEDESEL, Major General.[1]

BROOKLYN, *Jan.* 26, 1780.[2]

I hope the bearer of this letter will have the honor of waiting upon you in person. I confess I envy him his good fortune, for I would consider myself the luckiest of mortals, could I have this pleasure once more in my life.

Lieutenant Von Meyer of the grenadiers, Ensigns Bode and Fleischer of the regiment Rhetz, have, according to the wishes of your highness, been exchanged; and you may be assured that the carrying out of your orders is my most pleasant duty.

Nothing worthy of note has occurred since my last, which left on the packet, except a mutiny in the camp of the rebels New Year's night. The Continental troops destroyed the park of artillery and deserted Washington. Thereupon, Sir Henry, thinking they would join him, made a movement with a portion of the army, but these gentlemen were neither inclined toward one side or the other. They

[1] It may seem strange to the reader that Riedesel signs himself major general, having received the title of lieutenant general from General Clinton. This rank, however, was only given by Clinton, out of courtesy to the German general, while having an English command. It amounted to nothing in Brunswick, and Riedesel, therefore, signed himself as usual, major general.

[2] Received April 23, 1781.

merely asked for some provisions and the privilege of passing by him. It is said that congress has succeeded in quelling this mutiny by making promises which it is not able to fulfill. But even if it could fulfill them, the rest of the army would demand the same thing.

At the very moment I am writing this line, news arrives of a second mutiny in Washington's army; the troops having heard that the Continental troops from Jersey, who have revolted, have offered their services to Sir Henry. Take it altogether, the rebels never have been in such a miserable situation as at present; and unless France sends soon considerable support, I firmly believe that this war will soon terminate.

The command here on Long island, affords me plenty of exercise; but although the physician tells me that exercise is the only means by which I can recover my health, I feel no especial benefit resulting from it. My headache still continues; my mind is feeble and unable to work; and a genuine hypochondria causes me to spend my days in sadness.

A part of our convention officers and a portion of our prisoners from Rutland have arrived here; and I am making preparations to go to Canada with these small reenforcements to assume the command there just as soon as the season of the year and Sir Henry allow me to do so.

I remain,
RIEDESEL, Major General.

BROOKLYN, *February* 19, 1781.

I hope your highness has received the letters I wrote you last year, and that Colonel Specht has handed you my last, written in the beginning of this year. I also trust that young Schuler has had the pleasure of expressing to you his thanks for the kindness you have shown him. I have the honor of forwarding you a letter from Lord Cornwallis which he sent me with the request to send it to you. Sir Henry, also, has especially instructed me to present your highness his best respects.

I wish that the state of my health was such as to allow me to write longer letters to you, especially since the state of affairs here furnish me with plenty of matter. The season of the year, which has put a stop to all military operations, prevents my sending you news which would gladden your heart. Sir Henry hopes for ample reenforcements from England; and the rebels expect the aid of 16,000 French troops. The result of this next campaign, therefore, will be in favor of that side whose expectations are realized.

Congress has found means to suppress the two mutinies in its army; but a third revolt may be expected (in consequence of its inability to keep its promises), which will be of a more serious nature than the previous ones. Arnold, who has marched almost 200 miles into the interior of Virginia has met with more success than was expected, having gained a foothold near Portsmouth at the mouth of the James river.

The noted Carleton [1] has been beaten in the south. I hope it will not result badly for the cause as a whole, nor embarrass Lord Cornwallis.

An army corps here, consisting of the flower of the army, has received orders to embark. Its destination is not known. I should not be surprised if Sir Henry commands them in person.

I am making preparations for my journey to Canada, and I believe that Sir Henry will fix the time for my departure, as soon as the weather will permit. I hope the climate there will be more favorable to my health than the climate here, and that I shall then regain the health of which I have been deprived for over two years. Otherwise, I shall not be able to attend to the work which my duty demands of me.

Sir Henry has had the kindness to allow me to take young Beckwith as supernumerary adjutant. I hope that in this I have done a favor to his father whom I respect and very much love, and also that the chief magistrate of Westphalia will rejoice at it. He is a good looking young man, of good talents and character. If he is like his brother, the adjutant of General Kniphausen, he will be to me a valuable acquisition. I remain,

RIEDESEL, Major General.

BROOKLYN, *June* 13, 1781.

I was delighted to receive your two letters, one dated November 14th, at Gottorf, and the other, December, at Brunswick, upon your return from Copenhagen.

A few days since I was again visited by an attack of fever which hinders me from making this a long letter. I have had the operations of this campaign drawn up by Cleve, and now inclose it.

The time for my departure for Canada has not yet been designated. The admiral refuses to furnish a convoy, but Sir Henry has written General Hamilton to send him two frigates, and I hope therefore that we shall leave as soon as the ships arrive.

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[1] Probably Tarleton.— *Translator.*

Cornwallis has again advanced on the road to victory; and if Lafayette in any way keeps step with him, it is very likely he may win another battle.

You will, I know, graciously pardon the shortness of this letter, but my head is so weak, I cannot write longer.

I remain,

RIEDESEL, Major General.

SOREL, *July* 8, 1782.[1]

Your two letters of May 7th, 1781, and February 11th, 1782, were received a week since by the English fleet, and have given me great pleasure. The assurance of your favor was a good medicine for my poor health.

I recognize in it my old benefactor * * *

Nothing of note has occurred in this province since my arrival. The misfortune which has befallen Lord Cornwallis alarmed us extremely last winter; and all the news we have since received confirms us in the belief that we will be attacked both from the sea side and the colonies. The change in the ministry has caused a different system to be pursued; and, unless one is a prophet, no one can at present foretell what events may take place. We are comforted with the rumors of peace. I wish it were so with all my heart, for my health fails me more and more every day; and it only with great difficulty that I can attend to the duties of my office. What joy it would be if the time had come when I could pay my respects to you in person. Until that time arrives, I must be content to do it by letter.

I remain,

RIEDESEL, Major General.

QUEBEC, *October* 20, 1782.

I have had the pleasure to receive two letters from your highness, one in the French and the other in the German language.

Although the climate in Canada is more congenial to me than that of the south, and although I feel better able to attend to my duties since my arrival here, yet I suffer from constant headache, and do not enjoy good health for a week at a time.

Hitherto the situation in Canada has been very peaceable. I am busy in reforming the Brunswick regiments, and am in command near the border of the colonies. During the summer I encamped with

[1] Received October 19, 1782.

eight regiments on the Isle aux Noir, where a fortification has been laid out, which is to be strongly built of stone by our engineer, Captain Twiss, and command the district in which it is erected.

It seems to me useless to send you a journal of this year's operations, since everything we hear is so old that you must have heard it long ago by way of England. I fear we are on the point of evacuating New York, and that we shall be unable to keep anything but Canada and Nova Scotia. Under the last supposition the scene of action will be shifted from the southwest here, in which case we might easily be attacked next spring. I hope we shall give a good account of ourselves.

Captain Urban Cleve has not yet arrived here, having been sent to Halifax, and thence to Penobscot; and although I have moved heaven and earth to have him come to me at once, I doubt if I shall see him before spring.

Your obedient servant, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

SOREL, *July* 2, 1783.[1]

I have had the honor of receiving your highness's two favors of dates respectively, October 27, and January 17. * * *

We have received orders to be ready to embark. This gives me a sure hope of being able soon to pay my respects to your highness personally, and I long for the moment to come.

My health is of the same vacillating character; now bad and now tolerable. My sole hope rests, at present, on the climate. My return to the fatherland may again restore my strength, for there I shall be exposed neither to extreme heat or severe cold. It is these changes that so weaken my nervous system.

I will not speak to you of the peace which has been made, since it costs me considerable to confess the disadvantages connected with it. We must hope that that part of the nation, through whose influence peace was made, will also find means to counterbalance its evils. The Americans are at present apparently haughty and drunk with joy; but they are candid, they talk sensibly and know the real resources of their enemies. At such times they speak differently and foresee the clouds which are hanging over them.

Sixteen piasters for each man, and four shillings on every pound sterling for beer, are the taxes which have been made, and which do not at all harmonize with the prosperity which the inhabitants have

[1] Received October 4, 1783.

in other respects enjoyed under the British government. The province of Canada, also, is too much endangered by this peace; and I fear this has been brought about by a false knowledge of her position. The English ministry have agreed to give the Americans more territory than they really asked for. General Haldimand is consequently placed in a bad predicament, for he does not know how to satisfy the demands of the Indians, nor how to protect the commerce of the Highlands. But without being aware of it, I have gone into matters which I can state more satisfactorily to your highness when I have the honor of waiting on you in person.

I have had the misfortune to lose in the month of March, my youngest daughter, who was born on the 1st of November of last year. But, thank God, my wife is very well, and both herself and the children desire to be remembered.

Captain Wolzegen, who arrived here last fall, has gained the respect of all. He served with great distinction in New York, and gave great satisfaction to Sir Henry Clinton. Even on a march, he has the reputation of being a good economist.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

MAJOR GENERAL RIEDESEL TO MAJOR GENERAL GREENE, QUARTER MASTER GENERAL.

NEW YORK, *March* 8, 1780.

Sir:

I had the honor of receiving at Elizabethtown, your letter of the 15th of November, 1779, with the inclosures from Colonel Ross, deputy quarter master general at Lancaster, relative to a sum of seven hundred and twenty pounds overpaid for transporting my baggage from Lancaster to Bethlehem, which letter I have not had it in my power to answer till now, for want of a proper opportunity to send one to you.

Colonel Ross seems to put the fault on Captain Gerlach, my deputy quarter master general, as if he had made a particular contract with the drivers without the quarter master general's department of your army having taken any part in it. To clear up the real fact, I desired a report of the whole transaction of this affair to be made to me by Deputy Quarter Master General Captain Gerlach, and which I have the honor of communicating to you.

It is quite clear that Colonel Ross promised to me that the wagons for the transportation of my baggage should be given over immediately on its arrival at the rate of twelve pounds, each, per day; and

that Captain Gerlach had to wait five days without being dispatched; that at last Colonel Ross gave three wagons at thirty pounds each per day; and that Captain Gerlach accepted them at price, seeing there was no other means of pursuing his route; that he paid the sum of money into the hands of Colonel Ross's clerk, as appears by his receipt; that the wagons did not perform more than half the journey, or were more than half the number of days out, nor could it be my fault that myself, consequently my baggage, by order of congress was stopped half way; therefore, sir, having given you in detail the circumstances, I leave the whole to your just and equitable decision, and shall not reply another word if you believe, according to the circumstances, that I should lose the sum I took the liberty to demand of quarter master general's department in my former letter to you, sir.

I have the honor to be, etc.,
RIEDESEL, Major General.

DEPUTY QUARTER MASTER GENERAL GERLACH TO MAJOR GENERAL DE RIEDESEL.

NEW YORK, *March* 7, 1780.

Sir:

I have read the letters from Major General Greene, and Deputy Quarter Master General Ross, and have the honor of reporting to you the whole of the transaction for the wagons, which I received through means of Colonel Ross.

The 4th of October, 1779, I arrived at Lancaster: the first thing I did there was to wait on Colonel Ross, requesting him to procure me three wagons to transport the baggage to Elizabeth Town. Four days after I again went to Colonel Ross, who had not yet been able to procure the wagons. At last I proposed to pay something more than what Colonel Ross had promised to get them for General Riedesel, which was at £12 each per day. At length, on the 8th of October, Colonel Ross let me know he had sent an express for three wagons, and that they were just arrived; on which I went to Colonel Ross's office to settle for the said wagons, and his clerk, Mr. Brandon, informed me, that they came to thirty pounds, each, per diem; I therefore found myself necessitated to pay that sum, which I did into the hands of his clerk, according to receipt in my possession; but I never made any particular agreement with Andrew Moreland or David Hayes.

I have the honor to be, etc.,
J. D. GERLACH, Deputy Quarter Master General.

CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERAL RIEDESEL WITH THE HEREDITARY PRINCE WILLIAM OF HESSE CASSEL, REIGNING COUNT OF HESSE HANAU, AFTERWARDS ELECTOR WILLIAM I. AN ORDER OF THE PRINCE; AND A LIST OF THE HESSIAN COMMANDERS OF REGIMENTS AND STAFF OFFICERS.

Most Illustrious, Most Gracious Prince and Master, Hereditary Prince:

Due devotion to the person of your highness, and my adverse fate, are the barriers which have prevented my informing your highness of my good fortune in having under me your regiment. It is worthy of all praise, and, without gainsay, is the finest body of troops in America. The same thing may be said of the company of artillery, which has been attached to it since the army has been divided. I sincerely wish that I had had something to do in carrying out the plan of operations that I might have made the fate of these fine and brave troops more pleasant than that which they have had to share with the northern soldiers since the convention of Saratoga.

Real attachment to the troops, and a desire to have justice done them, are the reasons for my troubling you with these lines. I am anxious, also, to give my testimony to the courage and good feeling which the officers and men have shown on all occasions. I commend them to the favor of your highness.

I have made it a point not only always to see to it, that these troops received their just dues, the same as those of my own sovereign, under my special command; but when individual soldiers have been separated from their regiments, I have given them food and charged it to the credit of the Brunswick military fund. Thus, those Hessians, who have escaped from their captivity, have been furnished by me with pay and clothes, and sent by my order to Canada. Inasmuch as I have acted thus from devotion to yourself, as well as a sense of duty, it would be pleasing to know that it meets with your approval.

I consider it also a duty for me to recommend to your gracious favor the bearer of this, Captain Von Geismar, who has the consent of Brigadier Gall to go to Hanau. He has not only attended to his own duties with the greatest diligence, but, with the permission of his chief, Brigadier General Gall (under whom he served as brigade major), he has sought all possible opportunities to distinguish himself, and manifest his zeal for the service. On one occasion, for in-

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[1] This draft is without date or place. Very likely it was written from New York, May 14, during the year 1780.

stance, a horse was shot under him on the 19th of September, 1777, during the engagement near Freeman's farm, at which time he served with me as a volunteer.

Soliciting the kind favor, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

Answer to the above.

HANAU, *Sept.* 5, 1780.

Sir — Especially dear Lieutenant General:

Captain Geismar handed me, on his arrival here the 18th of last July, your kind letter of the 14th of May. I rejoice at its contents, and am pleased at having an opportunity to render you (as I have long been desirous of doing), my gratitude for the manifold care and attention which you have shown my infantry regiment, and the artillery company attached to it, as long as they were under your command. Colonel Von Gall has repeatedly mentioned to me the many kind actions which were shown to him and his men by you; and Captain Spangenberg confirmed this when he was here last year. I render you, therefore, with sincere pleasure, my true thanks. I should feel very thankful to a Hessian for doing this; how much more so then, to a man whose name reminds me of the many services his ancestors have rendered to my house. I shall appreciate them at all times, and will endeavor to show you the esteem and true friendship which I shall always cherish for you.

I remain, lieutenant general, your humble servant,

WILLIAM, Hereditary Prince of Hessia.

To Lieutenant General Baron Von Riedesel, of the Princely House of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel.

HANAU, *Dec.* 31, 1780.

My Noble and very dear Lieutenant General:

I received by yesterday's mail your kind letter dated at New York, the 1st of November last, and observe with great pleasure that you were exchanged the 26th of last October, and have received orders to go to Canada. But as much as I rejoice at this, it was very unpleasant to learn that my colonel, Gall, has left the regiment without my permission and knowledge. I send under this date the order for him to go with you to Canada, as soon as the season of the year will allow it, and take there the command of my regiment. He must not dare come to Europe.

I commend him, nevertheless, to your care, and request you at the

same time to take the necessary steps with the authorities. Also, do me the favor to ask General Phillips, in my name, not to allow any of my officers (who have been captured) to leave the regiment unless a written permission signed by me is shown him. I would again earnestly thank you for the kindness shown to my men, and commend them all (including those in Canada), to your kindness in the future.

I trust you have received my letter of the 5th of last September, and remain with esteem and sincere friendship,

WILLIAM, Hereditary Prince of Hessia,

To Lieutenant General Von Riedesel of Brunswick.

HANAU, *August* 26, 1781.

Especially dear Major General:

Your letters of the 20th of February, 28th of April, and 9th of May, were all handed me nearly at the same time.

I thank you very much for the news they contain, but especially for the care shown my troops, and your devotion for that nation from which your whole race has sprung. From this view I estimate more highly your exertions, being convinced that personal devotion to me, and an earnest Hessian heart, are at the bottom of it.

Judging by your last letters that you will go to Canada in the course of this fall, I send this letter thither.

I hope I will soon receive the information for which I asked you in my last letter (one copy of which I sent to New York, and one to Canada), in regard to Colonel Gall who has been dismissed. I depend on your integrity not to hide anything from me; for I have resolved to go to the bottom of this cutting down of the officers' rations in Canada, and, for this reason, have instituted the strictest investigation.

I was not a little surprised at the intelligence you gave me of the unexpected arrival of Lieutenant Thomas with the transport of recruits. They left here in the spring of 1780, and I had hoped that they were long since in Canada. I hope the troops have departed with you for that province and will safely arrive there, and that Lieutenant Thomas has again started from New York for Europe.

It has been very unpleasant for me to learn of the measures adopted by the rebels in regard to the convention troops, in separating and exchanging the officers. I pity the poor prisoners with all my heart; and fear, with you, that this separation will have many sad results. Yet I flatter myself that, before your departure from New York, you did everything in your power for them all, and especially

for those that belong to me. I commend my troops in America to your care in the future.

I remain, with sentiments, etc.,

WILLIAM, Hereditary Prince of Hessia.

To Major General Von Riedesel.

P.S.—Just as I was closing this letter, I received yours of the 6th of last July, by which I see that you had not yet left for Canada, and that the time for your departure was not yet fixed.

In regard to the dismissal of Colonel Van Gall, I know that he himself requested his exchange, and it was, therefore, his duty (the same as other officers of my regiment), to have remained in New York until he could have accompanied you to Canada. I cannot therefore, my dear general, blame you in the least; but, on the contrary, must thank you for your readiness in obliging Colonel Gall, as you of course, could not but suppose that his journey hither was undertaken with my consent. In respect to the future exchange of several officers of my regiment, and in regard, also, to the measures that were taken for the convention troops, let me say that I shall have to be satisfied with them, since they were ordered by the king. Neither will I be the cause of further alterations.[1]

HANAU, *March* 26, 1782.

Sir — Very dear Major General:

Lieutenant Thomas handed me, on his return, your letter, dated on Long island, July 21st, 1781. I thank you for the good advice given by you to this officer, to return to Europe; for his journey to Canada would have been altogether unnecessary under the altered condition of affairs. Afterwards, in fact, only a few weeks since, I received your other letter, dated at Quebec, October 20th, 1781. By this, I perceive that you have safely arrived in Canada with the men whom you took with you to New York, and that, after your arrival, the command of all the German troops was given you by General Haldimand. This makes the knowledge of your safe arrival in Canada the pleasanter to me, since I know that my troops there are again under your command. I commend them to your best care and strict supervision; and I beg you not to overlook the least irregularity: but, on the contrary, to hold my staff and other officers to a strict

[1] The hereditary prince, according to this postscript, did not receive this letter, containing his justification of Gall, until the letter was finished. He had been dismissed for returning to Europe without the consent of the hereditary prince.

performance of their duty. You will, therefore, oblige me very much, if you will see not only that the service of the king does not suffer, but that everything that is due my troops be given them, both of money and of rations. But if, notwithstanding your precautions, an officer is guilty in this respect, I expect of you as a native Hessian, and a good countryman, to inform me at once that Hessian honor may be preserved. I shall be especially grateful to you for pursuing this course.

As I have introduced the Brunswick method of paying the first battalion of my regiment which is in Canada, but have not been able to obtain a correct idea of the *modus operandi*, I request you to send me a detailed account by the first opportunity.

I am under infinite obligations for the news contained in your favors. I inclose a copy of my letter sent you on the 26th of August, 1781, in case you may not have received it.

Please inform my staff officers of the time of the sailing of the packets that they may write me.

Lieutenant Le Blanc, who is destined for my corps of yägers, and who comes with sixty-two recruits for said corps, will hand you this letter. I hope it will find you well, and I remain, etc.,

WILLIAM, Hereditary Prince at Hessia.

WILHELMSBAD, *October* 27, 1782,

Sir — Very dear Lieutenant General:

Your letter of July 8th, with the inclosed documents, I received on the 21st of October, this month.

You have given me great pleasure in sending these papers, and the interesting news concerning my troops. I ask that you will, as a special mark of friendship, keep a strict watch over my officers that no excesses be committed. If any such however, do occur against my express wishes, kindly inform me at once that they may be stopped and order once more restored. I shall consider this an act of particular friendship, and a great attention to the Hessian service.

You will have the goodness to forward the inclosed letters to their proper destination.

I will endeavor to repay these kindnesses whenever an opportunity occurs, and remain

Your earnest and well disposed friend,

WILLIAM, Hereditary Prince at Hessia.

ORDER TO THE EXCHANGED STAFF AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE FIRST BATTALION OF THE HESSIA HANAU REGIMENT, ERBPRINCE, AND ARTILLERY OF THE ARMY OF THE CONVENTION.

The staff and other officers of the 1st battalion of the Hessia Hanau regiment, Erbprince, and artillery, are hereby ordered to go by the first opportunity after their exchange, with the knowledge and consent of the commanding army of Great Britain, to the detachment of the Hesse Hanau regiment, Erbprince, and artillery, now in Canada. They are to carry out this order fully, unless informed by the generals, that the subaltern officers and privatés, still in captivity, will also soon be exchanged. In this latter case, they are to remain in New York without our special order; but under no consideration are they to return to Europe.

WILLIAM, Hereditary Prince at Hanau.

HANAU, *January* 28, 1781.

A FEW LETTERS OF THE HESSIAN MAJOR GENERAL VON LOOS[1] TO MAJOR GENERAL RIEDESEL.

QUEBEC, *January* 7, 1782.

Dear General:

I was pleased at receiving your[2] last letter. I have had an opportunity of speaking with the premier[3] in regard to your coming here. He said that the roads would be good toward March, when it would be pleasant to travel, and he hoped to see you here, etc, etc. But keep this dark. Your wife, whom every one loves, will be a thousand times welcome here. I would strew her road with flowers, if there were any. I intend setting out on my pilgrimage on the 25th or 26th instant. As for the rest, everything is quiet. Next Wednesday, we are to have a ball; and the day following, a concert. The whole price of admission is twelve and a half piasters.

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[1] The Hessian major general, Von Loos, distinguished himself several times during the American war. The reader must excuse us for giving passages (which are occasionally somewhat coarse), as they are in the original. Had we omitted these passages, the letters would have lost much of their originality. Through all this coarseness, however, shines the earnest, honest, and open soul of a bluff, old soldier. Riedesel, for these qualities, numbered him among his most intimate friends. It seems that while in Canada, the old bachelor, notwithstanding his old age and sickness, was captured by the beauty of a young lady, and had in his head an idea of marriage.

[2] The word here used in the original is the second person singular. *Thy (deine)*, an expression of familiarity and intimate friendship.— *Translator.*

[3] The Canadian governor.

Next Saturday is a *conversation.* We play, and at ten o'clock a side-table is set out with cold, fried meat, ham and cake, and each one eats on his own hook.[1] Besides the regular members, there are invited guests. Eight days since it was held at Cochrane's, and day before yesterday at Murray's, who, with Calwell, has the gout. The next one will be at Launandiere.

There is no news here; most everything jogs along at the old gait. I wish you health and good weather for your journey. I feel this miserable weather in my stomach and nerves. My Ritter[2] is sick, and I fear he will have the consumption.

By the way, it is said that there will be a ball at the premier's. The people here kill themselves with eating. Clarke intends visiting the country in February, and you will then have a new guest. Whether he will travel as one who knows the country, and return a learned man, time must show.

My regards to Lady Fritz and the dear children.

LOOS.

QUEBEC, *Feb.* 14, 1783.

Dear General:

Although my stomach is again all right, my mind is still dark. I can, therefore, only report briefly that *Mardy Gras* has been celebrated as usual, but *sans souper!*

General Clarke left here last Monday with *Tistal.*

The concerts still continue, but on the 27th will take place — N. B. — a heretic ball; and week after next, one for the ladies at the premier's. * * * * * * * *

Be sure and not forget to inform me at once when Clarke starts from Sorel to Camaraska, in order that I may go on the frozen rivers in my sleigh; otherwise, I may be prevented by the season of the year.

Now ask Lady Fritz what they say of me?

Everything that is good.

Do they miss our company?

Yes, very much.

Do they love our children?

Who would not love them.

Do they miss Cordelia?[3]

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[1] Literally "out of his own fist," an idiomatic expression answering to the one in the text.— *Translator.*

[2] A Hessian brigadier major, and adjutant to General Loos.

[3] A young and amiable Canadian lady who frequently visited the Riedesels.

Ah, yes! Ah, yes!
And one sings the air,
Cordelia! Cordelia!
I would that you were here.

I know nothing more to write to day, except my respects. More in the future.

Your servant,
Loos.

P. S. By the way, has the handkerchief of Dame Jeanette been of any service to you? She wants you to send her in place of it, a cast off cape of your wife.

St. Agnace, *Feb.* 17, 1782.

Dear General:

I received your letter on my return from Camaraska. It is easy for you to laugh at the trouble I have in regard to the *Brigadier tractament*, for if it does not continue, then the war will begin afresh, as the pay rolls are to be handed in anew. Then, in case the premier strikes off the pay, I can claim no more than the pay of a major general and refuse the pay of a brigadier; and, inasmuch as I desire to be on good terms with the old fellow, this *da capo* of a misunderstanding (aside from the loss) would be very unpleasant.

I have much trouble with the drunken capers of Peusch. I shall go there the beginning of March. We have no bridges this year, and on a canoe I am a poltroon even when there is no danger.

The Zerbstans I found in very good order, and in fact am particularly pleased with them. Fountain river is a little Eden. It has a splendid location and very pretty houses. Thank you heartily for the news, only let the news of peace continue. How is Monsieur McLean? Give the old Foie-spitter my respects. How is Barner, who is with St. Leger, Madame Johnson and Cammel? and, finally, *la belle Constance a perdu son morceau de pucellage.*

And now you are once more in possession of our dear Cordelia. Kiss her fifteen times in my name. I heartily rejoice to hear that your dearest Lady Fritz is getting better. No one can be more interested in her welfare than I am, although *every one* honors her, and she deserves it.

I cannot brag over my health. I have little sleep, and no appetite, although I ride in a sleigh from three to four hours every day. With this object, I have bought me the third light bay horse. By the bye, do, I beg, take pity on my poor beard and my blood-letting, for I have not a single army surgeon who understands it. Have you, among your recruits or privates, one who is an expert at this business?

If you have, I will make him an army surgeon and give you a foreigner in exchange. Kessler, whom I promoted to corporal in consequence of your recommendations, says there are some among your troops.

Adieu, dear friend. One thousand compliments to your whole house from the roof to the cellar.

Loos.

LA PRAIRIE, *March* 16, 1782.

Dear General:

I arrived here yesterday in fifty minutes, and went at once with Kreusburg to the Indian village of Chachenuagua. Dined well at noon; listened to a duet of Bockerini in the afternoon; played whist; souped *à la Bichamel;* went to bed at ten o'clock; got up at seven; drank tea; and at nine shall start for St. Johns. Thence to-morrow for Sorel, and so on, when I shall be rid of all manifestations of kindness and friendship.

I suppose that Lady Fritz is now in Montreal. Pray give her my respects, as also, *la belle Cordelià* and the children. Kreusburg desires to be remembered, and I am, dear general.

Votre obeissant,

Loos.

My regards to friend Specht.

QUEBEC, *March* 28, 1782.

Dear General:

You have my humblest thanks for all the military honors shown me. I pray you to hand to Chamberlain Von Poellnitz this golden souvenir set with brilliants, also my portrait surrounded with rubies. All joking apart, Poellnitz is a "tip top" man; and if I were as rich as my sovereign I would — well —

I arrived here last Sunday, the 24th, about six o'clock. The roads were very bad, especially the passage over St. Anna, where I came very near drowning.

I was overrun at St. Johns with marks of politeness; and, so far as the weather allowed, every attention was shown me, so that I can mention exactly every tavern; for I visited them all with General Clarke, in his covered carriole, at Montreal, St. John, etc.

How is Lady Fritz?[1] Deposit my thanks and respects on her

[1] Mrs. General Riedesel.

corns. La belle Cordelia, en couleur de rose, m'occupe jour et nuit. Le diable emporte ce 59; s'il j'etoit 29. Allons, un enlèvement pourvit arriver. Mille complim. à la belle, comme aussi à vôtre chere quadrille et suite.

The conversations will soon be again all the rage. On the 6th of April, there will be a *grand assemblée* at my house; and on the 9th all the bachelors will give a ball at Fitzgerald's. Cossane has entered a monastery, and will be a Franciscan monk in six months.

Practorius must drill diligently. I constantly hold up to him your two regiments. How is our premier? when will he come? How are you all? An answer to all this is expected by

Your faithful
Loos.

QUEBEC, *April* 3, 1782.

Dear General:

I have just received your dear letter, and attended to the one inclosed. I am very sorry that Poellnitz lost his bet. How could the crazy devil ever get it into his head to reckon on my generosity, when I have not a drop of that quality in my veins? If Lady Fritz had her dozen tea-cups again, instead of the broken ones, she might thank God.

Every body here wants either a peace or an armistice; but your letter foreshadows important summer events. If you anticipate anything certain in regard to a siege, tell me *sub rosa;* for I have 9,000 thalers in cash with me, which I should like to place in a safe place.

The people here give their bread with more grace and good will than those of Montreal. I like Quebec a thousand times better. What say you and Lady Fritz?

Cochrane (*mais entre nous*), not to have much money in the fund though he has some with the merchants. In case of a siege, however, the latter will not "shell out." He tries to borrow money, but may the devil trust him. He tells me that if the city is besieged, I am an undone man. This, however, is entirely between us.

Holland went to Montreal this morning. He is reported to have betrayed some state secrets. He is very likely afraid of the whip, and will try to make it all right with the premier by denying it. He is — well, you know him.

Here is a bill of fare for Lady Fritz's scrutiny. I recommend both it and myself to her.

J'aurois souhaité de tout mon coeur que sa présence auroit embellée ou illustrée ma fête, et que la belle Couleur de Rose auroit mise tout

le coeur en contributions comme elle a à Montreal et Sorel Cordelie tous les etre masculin.

My respects to the dear children and suit, especially to my dear Chamberlin. Willoe shall return the bet if ever I become lieutenant general. Borrowing is not giving.

I am, as always,

Votre fidèle serviteur,

Loos.

I have over thirty ladies. Oh dear!

QUEBEC, *April* 11, 1782.

Dear General:

I thank you for your last letter. The first leaf was torn off and thrown into the fire out of joy. * * * * *

Entertaining, as I do at present, thirty ladies and eighty gentlemen, you will excuse me for finding them a little *hors la saison.* What a pleasure there is in being able haughtily to say to an ungrateful and unfeeling ruler and to my overbearing minister, "I will not serve you any longer."

Now let us speak of *la chere Couleur de Rose. Le coeur commence à battre.* Had I but seen her twenty years ago! But it is now too late, and I will therefore bid adieu to all ideas of marriage. Jeanette[1] "don't see it," and declines with thanks; and, knowing me, exclaims, "Well, brigadier, what would you do with the young and lovely girl? The prudent, good and dear General Riedesel is smarter than you!" A glass of Madeira being on the table just then, I drank your health.

But as the messenger has arrived and intends returning at once, I must close. My respects to Lady Fritz, *et à ma tres chère et belle Cordelia.*

Loos.

QUEBEC, *May* 2, 1782.

Dear General:

I hope my last letter has safely reached you. There is no news except we are expecting the ships hourly.

I see that you are often engaged in fishing. Here there are no fish whatever. Catch me two or three gold fish and pack them up for me. If they cost anything, I will pay it; if not, so much the better. In any case they shall be eaten to your health.

The premier is daily expected. He is said to be extremely attentive to the French in Montreal, which greatly pleases the English.

Loos.

[1] Loos's housekeeper.

QUEBEC, *May* 20, 1782.

Dear General:

A ship from Liverpool arrived at Pic on the 18th inst., bearing a dispatch to General Haldimand. A merchant, by the name of Shaw reached here yesterday. You will see that a new ministry has been formed. The commons and the people have done it! When the news of the loss of St. Kiffs arrived there, every body was excited and exclaimed, "Another ministry or no king!" This helped. Sir Guy Carleton has been appointed commander in chief, and takes Clinton's place. Major Williams is in command of the artillery in New York. Thus, Mr. Bean remains here.

At the time of Shaw's departure it was rumored that some difficulty had arisen between Sir Guy and the ministry, and that the former had refused to accept the command. *Si fabula vera est.* Minorca is lost! Oh dear! New York, it is said, will be the *place d'armes;* and everything is on the defensive. The English are about to leave the islands. Many transports are coming from England to New York and this place. What say you to all this? *Cultivous notre jardin!*

During the last four days I have been very sick with fever. I had forty passages in sixteen hours! but Dr. Berens has made me better. How is Lady Fritz? God preserve you both and your dear family.

* * * * * * * * *

Have you heard anything of the German or Hanoverian troops coming over here? Write me about it. Now don't misunderstand me. I mean to say, that Haldimand is so in love with his Quebec garden and Montmorency, that I am surprised at his long stay in Montreal.

It is said that several English ships are at Gueph. I mistrust I shall have to go to New York with my three companies. Victory! There are three hundred pipes of Madeira at Gueph. It'll be cheap now! Give Murray the commission: he understands it.

I kiss the hand of Lady Fritz, and the underlip of Bella Rosa. A thousand compliments to your children and Major Dorè (Cleve).

Loos.

QUEBEC, *May* 27, 1782.

Dear General:

* * * The ship Bellona, on which were letters and silver for me from London, ran on a rock near St. Roc, twenty leagues from here, and sunk in five minutes. Six sailors were

drowned; the rest saved themselves the best they could. It is hoped the letters and several other things will be saved. Five more ships from Europe will arrive here this day. The *Pandora*, which accompanies a transport with German troops, soon after leaving Halifax, met a ship of twenty-two guns, attacked and captured it. She returns with the transport for repairs, and will probably, therefore, not be here before June. An express messenger from Halifax brought this news to us to-day. Now tell me, are these German troops from Brunswick? Perhaps they are my two companies, which are expected. If this is the case, they must, in pursuance of orders from the premier, go to Sorel without stopping here. I have protested against it. The regiment ought not to be divided in this way.

I hope, with you, that we shall be at home in a year.

Your faithful

Loos.

P. S.— Who gives the dinner on the fourth of June[1] at Quebec?

QUEBEC, *June* 13, 1782.

Dear General:

* * * The premier went to Montmorenci this afternoon. The city was illuminated in the evening,[2] on which occasion the sailors threw stones in the windows of the French whose houses were not lighted up.

I am anxiously awaiting your arrival on the 19th instant; and I offer you my quarters during your soldier's tour. I shall consider it the greatest honor if my friend will accept of them. My respects to Lady Fritz, and the rest of your dear ones, Cordelia, of course, included.

Loos.

IN CAMP NEAR POINT LEVI, *July* 13, 1782.

Cher ami:

Your dear letter of the 8th reached me only Thursday morning. I inclose a copy of my letter to the premier, and expect from you either approbation or censure. It is already mailed, but as yet I have received no answer.

I am contented in my camp. I have in a farm house, besides a good view, a nice room, bedroom, kitchen and stable. But no one

[1] The king's birthday.

[2] Probably in honor of the victory of Rodney and Hood over Admiral Grasse.

gets anything to eat. Bankruptcy is declared. The dear God keep every one from becoming a major general in Canada! Unless the premier comes first, I shan't call on him, even if I should stay here six hundred thousand years. A bad quarrel, however, for a courtier.

Your auditor has a droll way of getting a wife! Adieu.

Loos.

P. S.—Kreuzburg will tell you the news regarding the ten thalers per deserter; both auditors of the different nationalities will have trouble. We, however, have nothing to do with it. Those two and our sovereigns must settle it between them.

POINT LEVI, *Sept.* 26, 1782.

Cher ami:

I thank you very much for the news, but I still believe we shall have peace.

The firing of the pelotons ought most certainly to have been stopped at once; but the *terrain* was too small, and I was obliged to give Rauschenblatt time to retreat, and it was therefore necessary that the firing on that spot should not be interrupted. The main thing in executing such manœuvres, are quick evolutions, rapid movements, good positions, turnings, strategy, *alligements*, and marching. Firing makes only noise, and amuses the unmilitary spectators. I have another manœuvre which I intend showing to the premier, who, by the way, to the astonishment of every body, is polite, when he comes here. I will send it to you when finished. The growler, however, will not allow us to have huts, but the commanders will send in a remonstrance which I will hand him with my remarks. Only think, of having tents which have already served three summers, no straw, a little wood, and no blankets! Camaraska, will, in all probability, be my winter quarters.

What is your opinion in regard to your light and fuel in winter? Can I not demand a proper house suitable to my rank? I perfectly agree with you on the matter of subordination, and I rejoice we think so much alike.

Loos.

19 *October.*

Cher ami:

My oxen, sheep, cattle, pigs, capons, and ducks were killed for breakfast, on Thursday. It was good weather. The guests—but read the text in the Bible. I cannot make any manœuvres at present,

as the territory is all under water. I must have a house corresponding with my rank; otherwise, I shall forcibly take one and get myself again into trouble.

Loos.

P. S.— Answer me. It is damnable that the old fellow[1] should make a secret of the winter quarters. This causes me a loss of sixty piasters, which I have to pay to Madame Lanandiere, according to contract, for house hire per quarter. Duke Ferdinand had secrets, too, but he furnished free quarters. It is easy for you to laugh: you live in your manor house at Sorel, free and easy like a * * *

CAPE ST. IGNACE, *November* 4, 1782.

Cher ami:

I will briefly inform you that I am in quarters here; also, that to my sorrow, all my most valuable effects were covered with sand and mud during the last storm between the first and second. The ship stranded; and I have now no dry bed, clothing or shirts. All my winter supplies are destroyed, and I have, therefore, nothing to eat. My sugar, tea and coffee are also entirely destroyed. Ritter and Jeannette sit naked near the stove.

This is all on account of the premier, who, without *raison de guere,* sends the troops into winter quarters. Not a single year has passed that the soldiers have not lost their baggage. If there were any necessity for it, or if the war, or other circumstances, demanded it, *à la bonne heure;* but to imitate the German Frederick in Canada, is not only ridiculous but cruel. Who pays the poor subaltern for his losses? The farmers howl, too, because, owing to the terrible roads, their horses, harnesses, carts and everything else go to the devil. It cannot be on account of economy, for the government has to pay for the stranded vessels. For the regiment of Lossberg, alone, it must pay for two, to say nothing of the regiments Zerbst and Hanau, nor of the expenses for wood consumed at the camp at this late season of the year.

I am melancholy, and gaze with sad eyes at my once beautiful things. I have nothing to eat either, at least not much. My respects to Lady Fritz. I hope her confinement will terminate happily with a son. To the children one hundred thousand compliments.

LOOSIUS, Misantropos.

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[1] The premier, Haldimand, also called by our friend Loos, "the growler."— *Translator.*

St. Ignace, *November* 10, 1782.

My dearest Friend:

I have only to-day received your dear letter of the 4th inst. I congratulate you, with all my heart, on the happy confinement of dear Lady Fritz. I should have given a great deal for the honor of being able to name a male heir, and to have had him renounce the devil and his crew through me. * * * *. How much would I not enjoy the honor of paying you a visit; but the dreadfully bad roads and a hundred other circumstances will not permit me this pleasure. I take the liberty, therefore, to request my chamberlain, Captain Von Poellnitz, to represent me on the occasion. My name is Johann August. You have an Augusta. How would the name of Jeannette or Lozina answer? Choose one of the two.

Want of time will prevent my writing to Poellnitz myself. This letter must suffice. My express has no time to lose, as the mail goes to-morrow. I close, hoping that mother and daughter are doing well, and are favorably inclined toward their servant. I will attend to my godchild, and will not forget the little ring. I trust she will be as pure and virtuous as her father.

God be with you.

Loos.

St. Ignace, *Nov.* 24, 1782.

Dearest Friend:

I have received your dear godfather letter. I thank you very much for this honor; and since you are the executor of my will, you may know that I have willed to my godchild, one hundred Louis d'or for a ring or earrings. I say expressly a ring as a lasting keepsake, for it does not break easily, and, in case of necessity, can be pawned to Jew or Christian. I hope you and Lady Fritz will not think badly of me for not making the sum more. But since every one is bound to cut me down, I must cut down too.

Pastor Mylius,[1] also, is too good an apostle to take more than his sainted colleague, John. He took for each baptism wild honey and locusts, and I will send him (Mylius), the same next spring. *Ad interim*, give him a piece of fried veal, for I owe it to him. Dear Miss Augusta as godmother, shall have from Caldwell's garden the little flower, *forget-me-not*, for which she is to give me a powder bag of *drap d'argens* embroidered with gold. Midwives, and all servant girls in certain delicate situations, shall receive salt provisions for

[1] General Riedesel's family chaplain.—*Translator.*

five days, through my scale master, for which they shall pay the customary price; and thus, every body is attended to, and my generosity is established.

What is the news from the enemy? Answer soon.

Tout à vous,

LOOS.

ST. IGNACE, *Dec.* 2, 1782.

Dear General:

I am dry. My sour-krout, cabbage, sugar, coffee, etc., are all gone to the devil. I presume you have received my last letter.

Here is a list of the officers at the time of their being in camp near Winchester, and while in quarters at Andover. It has occupied me six hours; and I am certain it is correct, unless I have made a mistake about your troops; the little Schimmel and Miss Dans confused me. Do not fail to inform me how the dispute terminates.

From the bottom of my soul I wish Lady Fritz a speedy recovery. I send her and Miss godmother my best respects. But what have I done to my beautiful Fritz that she does not speak of me?

Adieu,

LOOS.

If any of you doubt the correctness of the list I will bet him what he likes; but Kospath and Mandorf will explain it.

THE CAPE, *March* 27, 1783.

Dear General:

I received your letter of the 9th instant, on my return from my tour to the Hanau regiment. I would have undertaken a journey from Laubisniere over Platon to Quebec, or any other place designated by you, but think of the awful bother [1] of a week ago Wednesday, the 19th; it not only destroyed the bridge, but overtook me between St. Croix and Laubinier, so that I arrived at Schölle half dead. Tunderfeld reported to me on my return, the news in regard to peace. This is very desirable news; but of what use is it, if the king of England wishes for it, and the other party [side] does not? [2]

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[1] The meaning of this word is not clear. Probably it refers to the breaking up of the ice, or some similar catastrophe.

[2] From this remark, as well as many others of a similar import in Riedesel's correspondence, it cannot but be observed that the Americans do not appear to have been exhausted by their seven years' war for independence. On the contrary, the opinion of their enemies seems to have been that they were still fresh and perfectly willing to continue the war unless brought to a close on their own terms.

I am not well, but feel badly all over. Send me your plan of operations, and do not forget to answer the points in my last letter. I am very sorry for your own ill health, and hope you may soon recover, and with Lady Fritz, and your servant, may long enjoy ourselves in Europe.

I hear of nothing new in my desert; if you hear of anything let me know. But once more, send me your plan of operations without fail.

Loos.

Jeannette and Ritter send their respects.

CAPE ST. IGNACE, *April* 1, 1783.

Dearest Friend:

The inclosed is a request by the granting of which you may earn an armchair, or, at least, a bench in Heaven, and by which, also, you will very much oblige Monseigneur and the whole theological faculty in Canada. Grant the petition if possible. There are a great many Thomases here, who doubt that peace is at hand, and call the speech of the king bogus. What do you think of it?

Loos.

CLINTON'S MEMORABLE RETREAT FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NEW YORK, IN THE YEAR 1778.

[From the *Journal.*]

The American papers finally furnish us with a narrative of the splendid retreat of Sir Henry Clinton from Philadelphia to New York. General Washington and all Americans already believed that they had "Burgoynized" this army (as they are in the habit of expressing themselves in their public journals), and they filled their glasses with bumpers on account of the anticipated surrender of Clinton's army. They boasted of their laurels, and congress in its resolution of the 7th of July, cannot sufficiently praise the bravery and activity of General Washington at the important victory over the English near Monmouth Court House. But the retreat of General Clinton was really great, and resulted happily with little loss; while the Americans, on the other hand, do not themselves know which of their commanders did his duty. The court martial, however, which afterwards sat upon the American major general, Lee, soon placed the matter in a brighter light; and confusion, equivocal con-

duct, irresolution and a manœuvering without purpose were shown to have characterized the conduct of most of the American commanders, for all of which Major General Lee had to pay with his honor by being suspended from his command for a whole year.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF MAJOR GENERAL PHILLIPS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN, DATED CHARLOTTESVILLE, IN THE COUNTY OF ALBERMARLE, VIRGINIA, MARCH 20, 1779.

I take the liberty of going beyond the limits, allowed me by your lordship, to publicly acknowledge in my report, the good conduct of the German troops (under the command of Major General Von Riedesel), in the service of his majesty. The conduct of the officers and soldiers was exemplary, and they are to be respected as faithful companions, in misfortune, of their comrades, the English soldiers, during the manifold changes in their unfortunate situation. I have found in General Riedesel the greatest possible attention to the duties of his position. He was always the same in his care for his German troops, in maintaining order, and in keeping up harmony and good fellowship between the English and German troops. In short, he was thoroughly imbued with the duties of his majesty's service.

LETTER FROM THE HESSIAN GENERAL VON LOSSBERG TO GENERAL VON RIEDESEL.

MORRIS HOUSE, *Dec.* 3, 1780.

Your honor's letter reached me safely yesterday; and I herewith tender you my sincere thanks for the intelligence which you have so kindly communicated to me. According to the news here, General Washington has left his head quarters at Totowa, and the rebel army its camp between the Passaic and the Hackinsack rivers, and have marched seven miles over West Point into winter quarters, where the army is to build huts in the mountains between Newburgh and Wilmanton. The head quarters are at Windsor.

I have not as yet been able to obtain any reliable information of the corps of General Stark, whether it has gone back to West Point, or whether part of it is still at Fishkill. But this much is certain, that no portion of this corps is now in our vicinity. According to intelligence received here day before yesterday from Horse-neck, there are not more than one hundred and fifty militia at that place,

who are commanded by a certain Colonel Wels, a shoemaker. Colonel Shelton, however, has no definite place for his head quarters. At times he is with a detachment, and again all of his men are at Points Bridge, North Castle, Belford, Kingstreet, and Horse-neck, which forms, as it were, the junction of the North and East rivers. Occasionally, also, his patrols come as far as East Chester. I shall consider it a pleasure to communicate to your honor every item of news which reaches me, that I may at the same time, manifest the high esteem, etc.

LOOSBERG.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL PHILLIPS UPON THE MANNER IN WHICH ENGLAND SHOULD CARRY ON THE WAR AGAINST HER COLONIES.

BROOKLYN, *March* 26, 1781.

* * * I believe, also, that four battalions could be obtained from Mechlenberg-Schwerin and one from Strelitz with which to reenforce the troops in America; and the war might then be continued here in the way which I proposed to you in my memoir rom Cambridge. That is, to establish three or four posts in such a manner that the Americans — who from lack of knowledge and the necessary material cannot undertake a regular siege — will be powerless to capture them. They must, moreover, be constantly annoyed by successive expeditions, and not be permitted to establish fastnesses in the interior of the country. Such a warfare would force the rebels to have armies all over; their expenses would be increased; their resources would come to an end; discontent would increase in proportion to want; and, seeing that they were the dupes of the European powers, their eyes would open, and they would rather rest satisfied with an unfavorable result than be the foot-ball of ambitious powers who are only looking after their own interests.

But to make this plan successful, new arrangements would have to be instituted in Canada. The different posts on the lakes, Niagara, etc., would have to be reenforced by at least two thousand men, and detachments of from five to six hundred men, under thoroughly competent leaders, would have to be stationed on the Ohio. Indians also, would have to be added to these detachments, to whom should be given a *carte blanche*, without restrictions, to do whatever they pleased in the rear of the colonies, throughout Virginia and Pennsylvania. This plan, although it may seem cruel, will nevertheless

have to be carried out in the present situation. Panic would thus be increased among the rebels; they would leave those regions, and their beautiful settlements would be destroyed. Their army would soon be in want of subsistence, and with their front harrassed by our troops from the sea side, and their rear exposed to the incursions of the savages, no other course would be left to them than to submit to the victors. I sincerely trust the Indians will not be obliged to fight, for whenever the rebels shall oppose them with any force they will all run away, and fall back on the regulars behind them. These wild men love this kind of warfare, for so long as their natural coarse tastes are satisfied they care little for anything else. They will soon enrich themselves with booty, and regain the respect which they enjoyed during the rule of the French. I well know that a warfare of this kind seems cruel, but it is to be excused by the fact that order and the public weal will thereby be established. It will also be necessary to rally all the Indians from the interior of Canada, and undertake a grand expedition in the direction of Ticonderoga during harvesting. A portion of the expedition must be pushed down as far as the German Flats to destroy the crops, grain, provisions, cattle and the mills; for it is notorious that Washington's army draws a large part of its subsistence from this section. These detachments must always be recalled into Canada in the winter.

Let the militia take care of Great Britain; let your fleets act prudently; maintain a defensive and judicious warfare in America for a few successive years, and by all means avoid a defeat, and you shall see that the rebels will soon give up such a burdensome war, and come to an advantageous peace. You, it is true, shall gain nothing but lasting glory, dearly bought by the backwardness, indecision and want of harmony of your ministers, and by the bad management of the troops which were intrusted to generals who were not fitted for such an exalted position, either by their merits or experience, but obtained it solely by influence at home.

Should America see that firmness on the part of England — for which she was formerly characterized — she, of all the powers now engaged in war, would soonest make peace; or, in case her stubbornness has taken too deep root, she would herself fall, after all the others had settled their quarrels.

You will have perceived by my sentiments that I disapprove of all the lengthy and extensive movements of Lord Cornwallis. Our army is too weak to hold so large a tract of land; and we are thus forced to scatter ourselves too widely whenever we go into the interior of the country. The consequence is, that we hazard and receive defeats, without obtaining a recompense for our losses. The moment the

enemy attempts anything in one direction, we should fall back and strike another *coup* in another quarter.

The post at Portsmouth is well selected, and is necessary; but it should be placed in a condition strong enough to withstand an attack without needing support from the water, while, at the same time, our fleet should also be of sufficient strength to frustrate all attempts upon our posts from the sea. I should like to propose the placing of another post at Falmouth, which has a splendid harbor, and lies between Boston and Penobscot. From this place you could fit out expeditions against the provinces of Hampshire and Massachusetts; and we could then, also, endeavor to retake Rhode island as soon as reenforcements arrived from Europe. Nor will this be impossible when the French fleet shall have sailed thence, and our own fleet becomes stronger.

You may laugh at my views, but you yourself desired that I should communicate them to you; and I have now fulfilled the wishes of a friend, who, I am convinced, will not make an improper use of them.

I am, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERAL RIEDESEL WITH WASHINGTON AND GATES.

General Riedesel to General Washington.

CAMBRIDGE, *Jan.* 11, 1778.

Sir:

Major General Gates, having, at the request of his excellency, Lieutenant General Burgoyne, exchanged a certain number of prisoners of war for an equal number of the Continental army, and being farther required to exchange a proportionable number of German officers, who were made prisoners of war, said, "he could *not* enter upon any exchange of the German troops, without an express order from congress."

I have too high an opinion of your excellency's justice, to believe you would make any distinction between the troops of different nations engaged in the same cause, and I am persuaded you will grant the same indulgence to the prisoners of war of one party, which you do to the other, in every respect; but, particularly, in that of a fair and equal exchange. I therefore request that you will allow a number of the German officers of General Burgoyne's army, pri-

soners of war, to be exchanged in proportion to the number of British officers exchanged by General Gates; and as the officers of General Burgoyne's family, and those of General Phillips have been exchanged, though included in the convention, I request that the same indulgence may be granted to my suite. A return of their names, and of the officers made prisoners of war during the campaign is inclosed herewith.

I have the honor, etc.,
RIEDESEL, Major General.

General Washington to General Riedesel.

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, *March* 31, 1778.

Sir:

It is some time since I was honored with yours of the 11th of January, to which I should have replied sooner, had I not been obliged to wait for an answer from General Gates upon the subject of your letter. He says you never applied directly to him for the exchange of yourself or any German officers, either of your family or the corps; but that he was told in Albany, that you and Major General Phillips had separately applied to Sir William Howe to be exchanged for General Lee, and had been answered, that as General Prescott had been first taken, he must be first exchanged. I imagine, from the foregoing, that General Gates must have misunderstood you, as he says he should have had no objection to exchange the foreign as well as the British officers.

Commissioners from me are now negotiating a general exchange of prisoners with commissioners from Sir William Howe. If they agree upon terms, I shall not have the least objection to exchange a proportion of foreign as well as British officers. But you will please to observe that this is a matter which depends solely upon Sir William Howe's pleasure; as he has a right to demand such officers as he thinks proper, for an equal number of equal rank. I should suppose, however, that justice to his allies would point out the equity of an impartial exchange.

I am, etc.,
GEO. WASHINGTON.

General Riedesel to Major General Gates.

CAMBRIDGE, *Nov.* 21, 1778.

Sir:

Having flattered myself from day to day that I should have the pleasure of seeing you at Cambridge, I have deferred writing you to felicitate you on your safe arrival at Boston; and I should not have failed of seizing the first opportunity of waiting upon you, had I not been prevented by an order, which has been in force ever since we have been here, that no officer of the convention should be allowed to go into Boston.

As the affairs in relation to money, which have detained me here, are now settled, and as I intend to set out in a few days, I request the favor of being allowed with Madame Riedesel, to go to Boston to take leave of you and Mrs. Gates, and to return you many thanks for the civilities you have shown me ever since I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance.

I must once more have recourse to your goodness, by requesting your assistance in making the long journey we are to undertake as easy to Madame Riedesel, myself and family, as possible.

I take the liberty of requesting an officer to conduct Madame Riedesel upon the road, and a guard to escort my baggage, and that of the persons belonging to the general staff of those Brunswick troops who are still here, and are to accompany me. I beg of you to give a written requisition to the officer, in order that we may be supplied with good quarters on the road, and may receive provisions at the places where they were issued to the troops upon their march.

You will know how far this officer and escort can accompany us; and I beg of you to write to the next governor or commander, where this officer will be relieved, requesting him to grant me another, as well as carts; and that I may meet with the same accommodations, as those which you are so good as to allow me.

You will judge whether I shall longer require a passport, signed with your name.

When I left Albany, you were so obliging as to give us a Colonel Sprout, who accompanied Madame Riedesel a little way, and showed her every possible attention; and I should consider myself under double obligations to you, sir, if you would send an officer with Madame Riedesel, whose behavior and sentiments shall correspond with those of Colonel Sprout.

Major Hopkins, deputy quarter master general, acquainted me before his departure, that Squire Watson of Cambridge, had orders to furnish me with carts, and that the number was fixed by Major

General Heath before your arrival. I will, therefore, not trouble you on this point.

As all my business is settled, I intend, if you have no objection, to set out hence on Friday next, the 26th inst., and arrive the same day at Worcester. I purpose sending away my baggage on Wednesday, which can easily reach Worcester in three days. From Worcester I shall continue my journey, retaining the baggage constantly by me. I should be particularly obliged, if you would allow the officer who conducts Madame Riedesel, and the guard for the baggage, to be here by Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning.

Madame Riedesel desires to join with me in compliments to Mrs. Gates and yourself.

I have the honor, etc.,
RIEDESEL, Major General.

General Riedesel to Major General Gates.

ESSEX COURT HOUSE, *January* 2, 1779.

Sir:

After innumerable difficulties and fatigues, I arrived here yesterday with Madame Riedesel and our little family in good health. Colonel Troup leaves me here, and proceeds to Morristown. General Lord Stirling, who commands at Middle-Brook, in the absence of his excellency, General Washington, has been so obliging as to send me a Captain Browne, who is to accompany me to Virginia.

Allow me, sir, to return you once more my most sincere thanks for your kindness, in sending Colonel Troup with me. I cannot sufficiently speak of the politeness and attention he has shown Madame Riedesel and myself on the journey, and the trouble he gave himself to alleviate the difficulties, which naturally and unavoidably occur upon such a long journey.

Madame Riedesel begs leave to join me in offering her best compliments to Mrs. Gates, and in wishing her and you all possible health and happiness.

I have etc.,
RIEDESEL, Major General.

General Riedesel to General Washington.

COLLE, near Charlottesville, *February* 16, 1779.

Sir:

The great obligations which I am under to Captain Browne, who will have the honor of delivering this letter to your excellency, is the

occasion of my taking the liberty to recommend him to your excellency. This officer was appointed by Lord Stirling to accompany myself and family to the place of our destination in Virginia. The great care he took in procuring us the best accommodations and conveniences upon the road, and his attention and endeavors to render the long journey as little trying as possible to Madame Riedesel and to me, call for my highest acknowledgments; and although the recommendation of an officer, by one who is engaged on the opposite side of the great cause in dispute, ought to have no weight, yet the well known sentiments of generosity and humanity, which your excellency has testified on so many occasions, encourage me to recommend Captain Browne to your excellency's notice and protection.

Captain Browne can acquaint your excellency with the various difficulties we encountered, the scarcity of everything upon the road, the enormous price of every article, and the ungenerous and inhuman sentiments of people at different places.

Captain Browne can likewise inform your excellency of the present melancholy situation of the convention troops; which, however, was much worse upon their first arrival at this place. When they first reached here, they found a few buildings, barracks *in name*, but, *in fact*, nothing but some logs laid one upon another, without any covering, and the snow three feet deep on the ground. The troops have nobly borne their distress, and are now employed in building their own barracks, which would have been finished long since had there not been such a scarcity of tools. I must confess that, according to the description which we had given us before our departure from Cambridge, I expected to have found a more plentiful country, and one better able to maintain such a number of troops. But I am far from wishing to trouble your excellency with complaints, as I am fully sensible that we are not in this situation by your excellency's orders.

Your excellency will allow me to assure you of the respectful sentiments with which I have the honor of being your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

RIEDESEL, Major General.

General Riedesel to General Washington.

BETHLEHEM, IN PENNSYLVANIA, *Oct.* 12, 1779.

Sir:

Your excellency, I hope, will have the goodness to excuse my troubling you with this letter. I do it from motives of justice to Mr. Randolph, the gentleman who will have the honor of delivering it to

you. I beg to recommend him to the knowledge of your excellency, as the person to whom Colonel Bland, the commandant at Charlottesville, gave the commission of conducting the officers and baggage of my family to Elizabethtown, I having, as you, sir, must have been apprised, taken the route before, in company with Major General Phillips.

The great care which Mr. Randolph has taken to render the journey as pleasant as possible to the officers of my suite, the politeness he has shown to them, and the exactness with which he has executed his orders, call for my best acknowledgments, and have induced me to mention this gentleman to your excellency.

I will not enter upon the subject of my detention, as Major General Phillips has written to your excellency, and must have fully explained, with his own, my sentiments upon that affair; but the pleasing prospect I had of going to New York was heightened, from it becoming in a manner necessary to my health (which has lately been declining under a slow fever), which change of climate alone will cure. My disappointment is in proportion to the flattering prospect I had of visiting my friends. Your excellency may therefore judge how severely I must feel upon returning, in my present state of health, to Virginia, where I am certain my health must suffer from the climate.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest personal respect, etc.,

RIEDESEL, Major General.

General Washington to General Riedesel.

HEAD QUARTERS, WEST POINT, *Oct.* 23, 1779.

Sir:

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 12th by Mr. Randolph.

It gives me pleasure to learn that this young gentleman's attentions, during your journey, has been such as to deserve your approbation.

I beg leave to refer you to my letter to Major General Phillips for my answer to his request in your favor. I sympathize with your poor state of health, and very sincerely wish an alteration for the better, which I hope will result from your change of situation.

I am, etc.,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

General Riedesel to General Washington.

BETHLEHEM, *Oct.* 29, 1779.

Sir:

Yesterday evening I was honored with your excellency's letter of the 23d of October, in answer to mine sent by Mr. Randolph; and Major General Phillips has communicated to me that part of your letter to him which concerns me. I return your excellency my warmest thanks for the interest you take in my indisposition, and am persuaded that whenever my disagreeable situation can be changed, everything will be done by you to forward it.

Your excellency mentions, in Major General Phillips's letter, that I might represent the ill state of my health to the American congress; but when I consider that the sole motive which determined me to undertake the very long journey from Charlottesville to Elizabethtown, was a letter from your excellency to Colonel Bland — the contents of which he communicated to me — I place my whole confidence and dependence entirely upon your excellency, under whose immediate directions I conceive myself to be. These reasons, also, were my inducements to take the liberty of giving you a faithful description of the total change in my health; and I am convinced that whenever your excellency may think proper to make a representation of these facts to the American congress, setting forth the circumstances which I have mentioned, it would have much greater weight, and, indeed, could not fail of success, than any address from an individual to the American congress, a body to whom I am unknown.

It is through your excellency's kind intentions that I am in this place, and as the very impaired state of my health is now known to to you, I cannot, sir, doubt your generous sentiments in procuring me permission to go into New York, at least for so long a time as may be necessary to reestablish my health; for which I shall always consider myself under great obligations to your excellency.

I have, etc.,

RIEDESEL, Major General.

General Riedesel to General Washington.

BROOKLYN, *April*, 1781.

Sir:

Several German officers of the Saratoga convention, having applied to me to be exchanged on account of their particular private affairs, I made a requisition, accordingly, upon Major General Phillips to propose such a thing to your excellency. In answer to my request,

General Phillips communicated to me your letter of the 25th of January, to his excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, in which the proposed change made by Major General Phillips to you, sir, on the 23d of December last, is agreed to, and, consequently, involves in it those German officers who were included in proposition, though not nominated at that time.

In consequence of your excellency's acquiescence in this measure, I delivered to Major General Phillips a list of those officers for whom I begged the exchange, which, he assures me, has been forwarded in his last proposals made between the British and American commissary generals of prisoners on the 3d of March.

As all the British officers, for whom Major General Phillips asked an exchange, have already arrived without one German officer being included in their number, I presume the before mentioned list has not reached your excellency; for I am convinced that you, sir, would be guided by the same impartiality toward one nation as another. I therefore take the liberty of repeating Major General Phillips's request, that you would have the goodness to exchange the German officers mentioned in said list (a copy of which I herewith inclose), and to give your orders for those gentlemen to be sent to New York.

Major Meiborn, of my dragoon regiment, and Ensign Meiborn, of my infantry regiment, belonging to the troops of his serene highness, the duke of Brunswick, having been made prisoners of war a few days since on Long island, I shall attribute it all to your excellency's kindness, if these two officers are permitted to come to New York on parole. The infirm state of Major Meiborn's health claims particular attention, and I shall make use of every interest in my power, with his excellency general, Sir Henry Clinton, to procure the permission for their exchange, if your excellency will please give your approbation.

I am, etc.,

RIEDESEL, Major General.

General Washington to General Riedesel.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR, *May* 11, 1781.

Sir:

I have been honored with your favor of April, with no particular date. Either you must have been misinformed as to the letters, which passed from General Phillips to me, of the 23d December, and from me to Sir Henry Clinton, on the 25th of January, in answer, or you must have misunderstood them. You will observe that I acceded

only to the exchange of the British officers, particularly named in General Phillips's letter. I refused his proposal of permitting an indeterminate number of British or German officers to be sent to New York at the discretion of Brigadier General Hamilton.

Some time after, proposals for a further exchange, bearing date the 3d of March, and in which are included the German officers, whose names you mention, were communicated to me by commissary general of prisoners, to which I did not think proper to accede, as I conceived the exchange of Lieutenant General Burgoyne was unreasonably delayed. My answer and instructions upon this head have been communicated in full to Mr. Loring by Mr. Skinner.

Were I inclined to partiality in favor of the British officers, I have no power to exercise it, as the choice of the objects of exchange does not lie with me.

At your particular request, I have given orders to have Major and Ensign Meiborn sent into New York upon parole.

I am, etc.,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

General Riedesel to General Washington.

SOREL, *June* 21, 1783.

Sir:

I beg leave, herewith, to introduce Lieutenant Danier, of the Brunswick troops, and to request your excellency will permit him to have passports to go to New York by land and return by the same route, on business which concerns only the interior and particular economy of the troops I have the honor to command. The pacific situation of affairs emboldens me to prefer this request, and I suspend farther apology that I may seize the occasion, before leaving this continent, of congratulating your excellency on the blessed return of peace, and of wishing perfect union and prosperity to the two countries, and to you, sir, every personal happiness and domestic happiness it can produce.

I have, etc.,

RIEDESEL, Major General.

General Washington to General Riedesel.

HEAD QUARTERS, *July* 14, 1783.

Sir:

I had the satisfaction of receiving your polite letter of the 21st June by Lieutenant Danier, and the particular pleasure of complying with

your request, by granting the passports you mentioned for that gentleman to proceed to New York and return again to Canada.

Had this request needed any apology, which I beg you to believe it did not, your very agreeable congratulations on the happy return of peace, with the benevolent wishes which you are pleased to express for the future friendly union and intercourse of the two countries, and for my own personal happiness and domestic enjoyment, would have formed a most pleasing one. I pray you, sir, to believe that my best and most devout wishes for your safe return to your own country, attend you, as well as for your future happiness, prosperity and glory.

The Baron Steuben will do me the favor to place this in your hand. This gentleman is instructed by me to form some arrangements with General Haldimand, respecting the execution of the seventh article of the provisional treaty, and receiving possession of the posts, now under his direction, and in the occupation of the British troops, which are ceded by treaty to the United States.

As an officer of distinction and reputation, as a foreigner, and as a gentleman of agreeable and polished manners, I beg leave to recommend the baron to your particular attention and civilities, believing that your goodness will extend to him every aid in the prosecution of his tour, and the execution of his commission, that shall lie within your power.

I am, etc.,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

SOMETHING IN RELATION TO WASHINGTON'S ATTACK ON THE HESSIAN YÄGERS, UNDER LIEUTENANT COLONEL VON WURMB, AT FORT INDEPENDENCE, JULY 3, 1781.

A Letter of General Riedesel to the Hessian Major Ewald.[1]

BROOKLYN, *July* 4, 1781.

Your honor's letter of June 8th besides the news it gives me respecting the operations of the army, causes me to rejoice greatly, since it tells me of your improved health and the healing of your wound.

The French troops, in connection with Washington, show symptoms of attacking New York. Lieutenant Colonel Von Wurmb went day before yesterday on a reconnoitering expedition. In the course of it, he was attacked, and the brave Captain Von Rau dangerously

[1] Major Ewald was one of the best Hessian officers. He subsequently entered the Danish service, and became commander in chief of the Danish army. He is also known as a military author.

wounded in the breast. Yesterday the lieutenant colonel was again attacked, but he firmly resisted the onset of the enemy. I do not, as yet, know the extent of his losses.

If it be possible for your honor to ascertain where our German troops of the Saratoga convention are at present, you will greatly oblige me by informing of it.

With constant esteem, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

Letter of the Hessian General Von Lossberg to General Von Riedesel.

I had the honor yesterday to receive your honor's letter, for which, as also the congratulations you therein express on my promotion, I sincerely thank you.

A corps of General Washington, of about 4,000 men, and, according to some reports, still stronger, yesterday approached the lines of Lieutenant Colonel Von Wurmb, with the corps of yägers, and attacked the pickets between Cortlandt's house and Fort Independence. The rebels, although reenforced, retreated into the woods, and the yägers occupied an advantageous position that had been intrusted to the former. They lost three in killed. One officer and twenty-five of their privates were also wounded.

According to intelligence just received, General Washington marched this morning with his army (which is stated to number at present between seven and eight thousand men), to White Plains. Several of the farmers say that the principal portion of this corps was composed of Frenchmen. It seems most likely to be the legion alone.

I have, etc.,

LOOSBERG.

Major Ewald to General Riedesel. The engagement at Jamestown.

SUFFOLK, *July* 20, 1781.

Dear Major General:

I yesterday received your kind letters of June 23d and July 5th, and thank you for your remembrance.

Notwithstanding every one expected that my Lord Cornwallis would wait in Williamsburg until the great heat had passed, the army left its camp on the 4th of July, crossed the James river near Jamestown, and marched on Suffolk where the army now is. Monsieur Le Marquise received on the 6th the false news, that my Lord Cornwallis had crossed the James river, with the largest portion of his army, with the intention of catching up with rear guard.

Monsieur, thereupon, took five thousand men and six field pieces, and, in the afternoon, attacked the advanced posts of the army at Jamestown. Lord Cornwallis allowed the enemy to approach close to his lines, when he marched out with the light infantry and the 80th, 76th and 43d regiments, beat him, captured three cannon, and recrossed the river on the 7th.

The enemy's sick and wounded must amount to several hundred, while our loss is not above eighty.

The enemy have not yet crossed the James. It is expected that it will unite with the army of General Green who has been so often whipped. On our side, it is thought that so many men will be taken from Cornwallis (probably for the defense of New York) that we can no longer act on the offensive. The army of Marquise de Lafayette numbers nine thousand men; and if a junction should be formed between the French and Washington, and the fact become known to the Americans, a great increase of the rebel army would be the result. May Heaven protect us against an additional force of the French.

I am sincerely sorry for the severe wound of Captain Rau, and for the other brave men who fell in the two engagements. I contributed largely on my part, for I have now only seventy-six men left.

It is thought that this army will leave its camp and march to Portsmouth, a very unpleasant place. I should greatly dread an attack there on account of its miserable location. Should a French fleet meditate an attack upon the place, it would certainly disembark troops at Lynhaven bay, occupy the county of Princess Anna, and cannonade Portsmouth from the rear, where it is greatly exposed. And just as sure as New York would be lost by the capture of Brooklyn, consequent upon the French becoming masters of the sound, just so certainly would Portsmouth be lost by a landing at Princess Anna. Should anything else worthy of mention occur here I will not fail to acquaint you with it.

GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL KNIPHAUSEN, COMMANDER OF THE HESSIAN TROOPS.

QUEBEC, *Sept.* 29, 1781.

I have the honor to announce to you my safe arrival here on the 12th of September. We had a long and unpleasant voyage; and the last of our ships have but just reached here.

General Haldimand readily acquiesces in sending part of your regiment to New York, though he regrets to part with a portion of the

Hessians and their commander Colonel Von Bork, with both of whom he is so well satisfied.

It is said that during the entire stay of the Hessians here, not a single instance of discord has been known between them and the different nationalities, and the inhabitants. General Loos, who commands in the lower Canada under Haldimand, has gained the entire confidence of both the latter and the Englishmen. The Hessians love him equally well.

General Haldimand has divided all the troops here into two divisions. The right, or the English wing, has been given to General Clarke, and the left, or the German, to me. Brigadier Loos commands, under me, the German troops at Quebec, and Brigadier Specht those of the Germans that are in the vicinity of Montreal.

Lieutenant Ritter of your excellency's regiment, who acts as brigadier major to Brigadier Loos, is almost indispensable both on account of his versatility in the English language, and his own good *compactement* in commanding the regiments of the different nationalities. Haldimand is desirous of having Loos help him. I am convinced your excellency will not take offense at the detention of this officer.

Hoping that the army will have the good fortune to serve your excellency another year in America, I again recommend to your protection the convention troops, and trust that you will, through your influence with Sir Henry Clinton, bring about a partial if not a complete change in their condition. Without the aid of your excellency, these poor men are entirely forsaken.

My wife, who will never lose her high regard for your excellency, desires, with my entire family and godchild, to be remembered.

I am, etc.,

RIEDESEL.

DEPARTURE OF LORD CORNWALLIS AND THE HESSIAN GENERAL KNIPHAUSEN TO EUROPE, IN THE YEAR 1781.

Extract from a Letter of the Hessian Colonel Von Romrod from New York to General Riedesel.

Lord Cornwallis arrived here on the 19th of November, and shortly after continued his journey to England. Since the unfortunate surrender of his post a large portion of the hostile army have been detached to the south. General Leslie and the skillful engineer artillery major, Moncrief, were ordered to proceed to Charleston and

place that post in a better defensive condition. But up to this time nothing of any account has been attempted against it.

Contrary to all expectations, Lieutenant General Sir Guy Carleton arrived here on the 5th of May, to relieve Sir Henry Clinton of the command. Lieutenant General Von Kniphausen, also, after repeatedly asking to be relieved, finally obtained permission to resign. A great dinner was thereupon given to these two generals by all the English staff officers, of which over two hundred persons partook. General Clinton having turned over his command to Carleton, and Kniphausen having resigned his to Lieutenant General Lossberg, the two generals embarked, on the 13th of May, on board the admiral's ship and the frigate *Pearl* amid the thunder of nineteen cannon. The embarkation took place at Fort George. The Fortieth regiment, at that time in garrison at New York, and three hundred Hessian grenadiers, under command of Lieutenant General Von Linsing, formed on this occasion two lines from the quarters of General Kniphausen to the English head quarters where both generals entered the boat.

On the 20th the garrison of this island were reviewed by the new commander in chief. The garrison on Long island, also, underwent a review, on the 21st, between Brooklyn and Jamaica. Carleton expressed his satisfaction with both reviews. New York is now being fortified by batteries and works running from the East to the North river; and the work is so diligently pressed, that, including the militia, eight hundred men are daily employed.

General Riedesel to Colonel Romrod.

QUEBEC, *October* 16, 1782.

I received the two letters of my best friend, dated respectively May 29th and August 19th, a few days since by the fleet, containing our convention officers. The joy I had on receiving them, is indescribable.

The prospects of peace are believed here almost as strongly as they are with you; but within the last fourteen days we have heard the contrary by an express frigate with dispatches to General Haldimand, and I should not be in the least surprised at still seeing my dear friend Romrod in Canada. Time will show whether or not I am mistaken. We have spent this year very quietly here; and, although I command the chain of outposts, I have seen no enemy save a few prisoners of war who were brought in from time to time by my scouts. I am at present in camp with eight regiments on the Isle aux Noix, were I am fortifying a very favorable position. General Loos, with three regiments, is on the other side of the St. Lawrence

opposite Quebec. The other regiments of our army are distributed here and there in single posts and garrisons. The troops, I presume, will go into winter quarters the beginning of next month, when I shall very probably take up my old quarters in Sorel, and command the same districts as last year.

At Sorel, where my head quarters are, I have a good, comfortable house, which General Haldimand had prepared for me. I have laid out there myself a very large garden. This, with the adjoining land, furnishes me with sufficient pastime, as well as support for my family and cattle. In fact, I am as much of a farmer as my duties will allow me to be.

My wife has been very well of late. She is in good spirits, and is near her confinement. May fortune grant that it may be a son! Gusta is my milkmaid, and her sister does nothing but collect the news of which she keeps a diary. All the children, thanks to God, are well.

I have come here for a few days to make some arrangements in regard to the officers and recruits who arrived from New York. My wife not knowing anything of my receiving a letter from you, has not asked me to send her compliments; but I can safely do it in her name, as she, together with all my family, always remember your honor with a never ending friendship.

I remain, etc.,
RIEDESEL.

PLAN OF SIR HENRY CLINTON FOR A DIVERSION (WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF CANADA) THROUGH THE CHESAPEAKE HIGHLANDS AND UP THE POTOMAC, SUSQUEHANNAH, ETC., COMMUNICATED IN CONFIDENCE TO MAJOR GENERAL RIEDESEL WITH ORDERS TO COMMUNICATE IT TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.

As there can be no doubt—judging by the news from Europe, and by intercepted letters from French officers, under Rochambeau, to the French consul in Philadelphia—that there is an intention, at the present time, to attack Canada, General Clinton hopes that General Haldimand will be able to spare two thousand men for an expedition from Niagara, Lake Erie and Presqu'isle, against Fort Pitt, the Ohio river, and the settlements in the rear of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Such an undertaking would greatly facilitate an expedition from the Chesapeake highlands, which, it is hoped, will be the more successful, from the supposed willingness of the settlers along the Ohio to submit to the government of Great Britain on the condition

that they shall be entirely separated from Virginia and Pennsylvania and form a distinct province.

All necessary magazines for provisions, artillery, baggage, etc., having been erected at Niagara, it is thought that the corps from Canada will be able to cross Lake Erie in vessels and occupy a strong position on Presqu'isle. Here, it could establish itself in such a manner, by fortifications, etc., that there would be no danger either of its being driven out by superior numbers or its retreat being cut off by water.

And even if we should not succeed in capturing Presqu'isle by surprising Fort Pitt, we would soon ascertain the sentiments of the people along the Ohio. If they are found to be favorable to the king, and willing to defend the defiles in the Alleghany mountains and Blue Ridge, a foothold might be gained after a while at Fort Pitt, and two posts established at Shenango and Venango. Thus, communications would be kept up between Fort Pitt and Presqu'isle, a circumstance which would greatly facilitate the incursions of the savages in carrying destruction on the rear of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

If Fort Pitt could not be taken either by cunning or surprise, and we should find ourselves entirely deceived in regard to the sentiments of the people along the Ohio, we would have to be content with the capture of Presqu'isle. This post should then be made as strong as possible, while, at the same time, we could push forward and establish two posts at Shenango and Venango, protected by two redoubts, and thus preserve the water communication. The Indians would have to be sent to those posts in advance, with orders to devastate the country as much as was consistent with prudence and caution.

The officer, in command of the Canadian corps, must await in this position the result of the expedition undertaken from Chesapeake bay; and, through messengers, he must be in constant communication with the general in command. He must, also, do all in his power to afford him support, by a prudent cooperation.

Sir Henry Clinton, in order to conceal the real intention of this expedition, will pretend to start with a small corps from the Mohawk river to Oswego, as if for the purpose of capturing Fort Stanwix. This corps shall devastate the country as far as lies in their power, and shall return to Oswego after a certain time.

If the fleet on Lake Champlain could, at the same time, with a few Canadian volunteers and rangers, make a few excursions to Ticonderoga and Fort George and even beyond, this third expedition would, as a matter of course, confuse the enemy still more, especially when

he found himself, in addition to all this, attacked simultaneously in Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland.

General Sir Henry Clinton expects to be able to undertake his expedition immediately upon the plan of Washington and Rochambeau being known. This will probably take place in the middle of winter or at the beginning of spring; but the diversion from Canada must come off as near the same time as his as possible, since the nearer together they are, the better results he expects from it. For he deems the surest method of putting an end to the revolution, to be in separating the inhabitants along the Ohio and Kentucky from the other revolted provinces.

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PLAN OF AN EXPEDITION FROM CANADA AGAINST THE OHIO RIVER AND ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS AND BLUE RIDGE, IN COOPERATION WITH AN EXPEDITION OF THE ARMY OF NEW YORK AGAINST MOUNT CHESAPEAKE. DRAWN UP BY GENERAL RIEDESEL IN 1781, FOR GENERAL CLINTON.

The army of Canada consists of the 8th, 29th, 31st, 34th, 44th, and the 53d regiments, one hundred and fifty men of the 47th, a battalion of the 84th, Sir John Johnson's regiment, Yessop's battalion of provincials, six Brunswick battalions (which, on account of the smallness of their number, are formed into three), one battalion of Hanau yägers, one half a battalion of Hanau infantry, one Hessian battalion, one battalion Anhalt Zerbst, and the dragoon regiment. The whole, with the exception of the 8th infantry, already destined for the defense of the upper lakes, if we count each battalion at four hundred men, amounts to six thousand troops. Suppose then, that we could spare two thousand five hundred regular troops during the season of the year, when a French invasion from the seaboard need not be feared, I would propose, since the fleets on the lakes[1] are amply sufficient to protect the frontiers of Canada in the direction of Albany, that four battalions of infantry, three companies of yägers, and three companies of Canadians, with a proportionate amount of artillery, be sent to Niagara in vessels. Meanwhile, the officers of the 8th regiment, before setting out, should collect as many Indians as possible, and the war vessels should be rendezvoused at the mouth of Lake Erie, opposite Niagara.

It would be necessary also, to supply this corps not only with the guns necessary for battalions, but with cannon with which to mount

[1] Champlain and George.

the forts that will have to be established for the communication with the lakes when this corps shall have advanced toward the Ohio.

Corresponding preparations should likewise be made for provisions, hospital supplies, baggage, ammunition and the engineer division; and a talented and active man sent ahead to Niagara to make the necessary arrangements as soon as the expedition shall have been undertaken. All this could be done under the pretext, that an attempt against Niagara was feared, and it was, therefore, necessary to be placed in a thoroughly defensive condition.

The troops upon arriving at Niagara, should locate a post near the mouth of Lake Erie, and vessels, artillery, baggage and tents transported to the carrying place. After this is all accomplished, the troops must march to Lake Erie, embark, and land on the east side of the lake at a given point, perhaps Presqu'isle. The moment they arrive there, two detachments, composed of yägers, Canadians, and provincials, should be sent forward to get a footing at Shenango, and afterwards at Venango. The Canadians are to operate in front of these detachments, while the major part of the expedition remains at Presqu'isle, to put it in a suitable condition for being the great rendezvous. An effort should also be made, if possible, to have the Indians, supported by the advance guard, capture Fort Pitt either by cunning or a surprise. This fort is said to be situated at a distance of ninety miles by land from the old French road. In this case the expedition should be undertaken as soon as there is a chance to march in the direction of Venango, which can be done on vessels down the Alleghany river. A post, however, in a redoubt, must be left at Shenango. When we are masters of Fort Pitt, we shall soon see what are the sentiments of the inhabitants of that region. If they are willing to submit to the government of the king and defend themselves, I believe we risk nothing in occupying Fort Pitt with the yägers and one regiment of regulars, as it can be reenforced either by land or water as is thought best. It will also be well, perhaps, to build a few gunboats to protect the navigation from one post to another. As soon as we have a foothold at Fort Pitt, the Indians can be sent into the Alleghany mountains, and thence still farther to the source of the Potomac, as far as the Cumberland and the Juniata river, which empties near Frankstown, into the Susquehannah river. If the settlers on the Ohio are willing to take up arms, or to place outposts in the front of Fort Pitt, between the Monongahela and the Sonykigany rivers to their left, then a post in the passes near Fort Ligonier and Conemak Oldtown can be established. As soon as the other or complementary expedition from the Chesapeake is on the way, the manœuvres of both armies will become more in harmony

with each other; and bodies of regular troops can, every little while, be sent out in advance from right to left, without much risk, until there is not a hostile post left this side of Fort Pitt. I believe that Fort Pitt is too far off to risk an engagement with the enemy — taking into view the distance for retreat in case of defeat — but I also believe that we may attack, and act on the defensive near Shenango and Venango (if the enemy ventures so far), as it would then be almost impossible for us to be cut off from the rendezvous at Presqu'isle, where we could take to our boats. If, however, the inhabitants should act with us, we could act more powerfully, and the rangers of the left wing might be sent on a raid into Virginia and Pennsylvania. It would also be of great and important benefit, if Winchester — a city of considerable importance on the main road from Philadelphia to Virginia — could be destroyed, and if incursions could be made upon what is called the *great wagon road.* Thus all communication between the northern and southern provinces would be destroyed. But supposing that the enemy, which is not very likely, should rally a large force while the expedition was getting under way from the Chesapeake — and supposing again that it would be dangerous to support this expedition even as far as Venango — we could easily fall back on our rendezvous at Presqu'isle; and as the enemy could not remain in this region, we could follow him every time he retreated.

The rest of this expedition depends on local circumstances regarding which I can make no conjectures, not being acquainted with the country any further than what I have learned from the map.

A corps constructed on similar principles to the above, might operate in the same manner in this section, until the French prepare for an invasion of Canada in earnest, in which case I think our troops could be back at Montreal in two months.

For the purpose of deceiving the enemy in regard to the real object of this expedition, another corps, consisting of Mohawk Indians, one yäger company, the regiment of Sir John Johnson, and supplied with vessels, artillery, etc., might proceed to Oswego, repair the fort in that place, and extend its operations as far as Fort Stanwix and the German Flats. This would greatly puzzle the rebels; but in case of such an expedition being undertaken, we must not *pretend* to do it: the works of Fort Stanwix must *actually* be destroyed, and in case we are forced by a superior force of the enemy to fall back on Oswego, this post must be kept at all hazards until General Haldimand thinks it advisable to gather together all his forces into the interior.

The entire fleet, also, must be sent from St. John to Crown point, as soon as the season of the year permits it. Major Carleton, with

the rangers, savages from the interior of Canada, and Canadian volunteers, will be of this party. They will then make raids upon Ticonderoga, Lake George and Albany; but this must be done with great caution, so as not to be surprised, or injure the Hamshire grants called the province of Vermont. Crown point will always remain the rendezvous for the raiders, and the fleet will always cover this post as long as the season of the year allows. I believe there is nothing to hinder this plan, except that it will be impossible to cross the upper St. Lawrence after the month of October; that the transportation of provisions and baggage from Montreal to Niagara, so late in the season, will be connected with difficulties; and that the Indians can only be rallied at a certain season of the year. I, however, also believe that these impediments can easily be overcome. A certain Captain Twiss, who was employed by General Phillips in the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, has solved questions which seemed impossible. He is now in Canada.

I beg you will excuse it if the names of places and rivers are given incorrectly in this plan. I have had only a general map to assist me, which renders it impossible to give them with accuracy.[1]

A PLAN BY WHICH IT MAY BE POSSIBLE SO TO WEARY THE AMERICAN PROVINCES THAT IT SHALL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO PAY THE EXPENSES OF THE WAR. WRITTEN BY GENERAL RIEDESEL, NO DATE GIVEN.

1st. A corps of the main army under the immediate command of the general in chief of North America, consisting of twenty-four battalions, two regiments of dragoons, with sufficient artillery at New York city, New York island, Long island, and Staten island; a large, and carefully arranged fort on Long island, and on Staten island for the defense of the narrow passage of Sandy hook; a well planned fort for the defense of the narrow channel between Jersey and Staten island; another one on Long island for the defense of the narrows at Hellgate, and to save troops as far as possible; a naval force, under the chief admiral, consisting of four ships of the line and

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[1] Although the plan, given by Clinton to Riedesel for Haldimand, is given first in the original, yet it seems altogether probable that this plan of General Riedesel was originated by him and given to Clinton, who, thereupon, incorporated its exact features, or rather reproduced it for Haldimand. This supposition, moreover, is rendered additionally probable by the fact that Riedesel sketched (see a few pages back) a very similar plan of operations in a letter to Phillips some time previously.— *Translator.*

six frigates to protect the coast from all hostile attacks from the seaboard.

2d. A corps of eight battalions with the proper artillery, and about eighty mounted yägers or volunteers on Rhode island. This island would have to be better fortified than at present; and the city of Newport, or another better situated post also fortified that it could not be taken without a regular siege of two months. This latter post to be likewise protected by a fleet of one ship of the line and three frigates, under the command of a commodore.

3d. To obtain possession of a post between Newport and Halifax, either in the vicinity of Portsmouth, not far from New Castle island, or in the Kasko or Kennebeck bay. The main thing in the selection of such a post is, a good safe harbor, and suitable ground on which to construct a fort sufficiently strong, not only to defend the harbor, but to resist for a time any assault by land. Four regiments, with proper artillery, and fifty volunteers or mounted dragoons, should be stationed in the fortifications. Three frigates, under a commodore, should also protect the harbor.

4th. Halifax, the dock yard of North America, should be protected by four regiments, and a fleet of four frigates and two ships of the line.

5th. The two capes, south of New York, viz: Charles and Henry, should be fortified, or, still better, two strong forts further up the Chesapeake, in the vicinity of Gloucester or Hampton, should be built and fortified to withstand a siege. For this purpose ten regiments and one hundred horses, with proper artillery, will be required to cover these fortifications and keep the Chesapeake clear. Two ships of the line and six frigates will also be necessary.

6th. To defend the coast completely, and before adopting this plan, Charleston, in South Carolina, must be taken by a well supported expedition. It should be well fortified, so that it can be held by a garrison of four regiments, fifty horse and proper artillery, until it can be supported from another direction. A ship of the line and three frigates will cover the harbor and fortifications.

7th. Savannah, or another post in Georgia, to be fortified and manned by thirty regiments, fifty horse and the proper artillery, and to be protected by one ship of the line and three frigates.

8th. St. Augustina, in Florida, to be defended by two regiments with the proper artillery and two frigates.

9th. A fleet of observation of four ships of the line and six frigates under an admiral, six regiments, one hundred horse and the proper artillery to be in constant readiness to undertake expeditions into

the southern portions of America, and reenforce those posts in case of an hostile attack.

10th. A similar fleet to operate against the northern provinces.

The entire effective force in America, after manning the above named places and fortifying them, would be as follows:

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Ships of the Line.	Frigates.
	Battalions.	*Men.*	*Companies.*		
New York,.....	24	600	4	4	6
Between Rhode Island and Halifax,.	4	50	1		3
Newport, ...	8	80	2	1	3
Halifax,.....	4		2	2	4
Chesapeake Bay,..	10	100	2	2	6
Charleston,.....	4	50	1	1	3
Savannah,.....	3	50	1	1	2
St. Augustina,.....	2		1		2
Southern corps of observation,.....	6	100	2	4	6
Northern corps of observation,.....	6	100	2	4	6
Total,.....	71	1130	18	19	41

Three bodies of savages, supported by rangers and volunteers, must constantly ravage and harrass the frontiers of the colonies from Niagara and Oswego, so that not only will the inhabitants of that fertile country be compelled to leave their plantations, but the enemy will be forced to maintain an army in every province in addition to the large one operating against New York. The maintenance of these different corps will soon cause, in every province, such a want of ammunition, provisions and money, that it will be impossible for them either to send supplies to the main army or support their common expenses by taxes.

Expeditions, also, must at once be sent into those portions of the country where it is found that the enemy are asleep or his militia scattered; and stores, provisions, cattle, and men fit for the service must be carried off. These expeditions must be pressed until the enemy is compelled to send troops from his main army while we are operating.

The general, who commands this expedition, must possess sound judgment. He must never risk an *echec;* neither should he retreat until the object of the expedition is accomplished. As soon, moreover, as the commanding general learns that the troops, having accomplished their object, are about to return, he must send out a new expedition in an opposite direction, which must be carried out with the same energy. I believe that four successive expeditions can be under-

taken during a year, two in a northerly and two in a southerly direction. As soon as the troops return from one expedition, they are to replace those garrisons that have been weakened by furnishing men for expeditions already out. The captured provisions, cattle, etc., are to furnish the garrisons with fresh supplies.

In addition to these large expeditions planned by the commanding general, the officer in command of a post is to carry on a constant skirmishing warfare in his vicinity, send now small detachments and now large ones, surprise the enemy here and there, by day and night. He should, especially, profit by the rough season of the year and the winter, at which times the enemy generally becomes careless. He should, also, make the most of the summer in harvesting time when the militia are forced to disperse to gather in their crops.

By such a miniature warfare not only is the enemy compelled to keep a considerable corps of observation, but the garrisons have, at the same time, the advantage of being supplied with all kinds of fresh supplies. The inhabitants are likewise, by such a course, kept in constant fear and terror. Such little expeditions, also, would be greatly facilitated by having a certain number of cavalry added to each garrison.

Those inhabitants who, either by land or water, bring provisions to the garrisons, should be promptly and liberally paid in cash. Love of gain will therefore induce them to bring more supplies as well as news from the enemy, and the number of tories will also be increased. Such people, however, must never be allowed to enter the city, or go anywhere where they might discover the condition of the fort or garrison.

But should all this fail to rouse Washington from his lethargy, and should it be his plan to have each province protect itself with its own militia, then we must prolong our expeditions and advance into the interior as far as the rivers will permit. We must then go into entrenched camps from which we can fit out new expeditions to devastate the level land as much as possible. This course not only will ruin the provinces, but the inhabitants will be very angry because Washington and congress refused to assist them ; yea, it will finally cause a separation of the confederate provinces.

Should Washington, either of his own inclination, or by the command of congress, at the request of the suffering provinces, make a general movement with his army and send out such strong detachments as to weaken him, then our main army might make itself master of the highlands, and thus bring about the long desired separation between the northern and southern provinces. But such a movement should not be undertaken until Washington has shown

his hand, and his troops are too far away to support the post that is to be captured.

But should it be Washington's plan to allow our troops to proceed unmolested on their expedition, while, at the same time, he attacked one of our posts, the latter (as we have before shown), would be too well fortified to be taken by surprise, and could easily hold out until we came to its relief. Having thus placed the besieging army between two fires, we should either gain a complete victory, or capture the largest part of his heavy artillery and siege train.

I believe, also, that it would be a good idea to keep an eye upon those Americans who enter into our service as tories. They should never be allowed to be in one corps by themselves, but should be incorporated into the English regiments. These men would thus command more respect by being in the company of national troops, and would love their king and regiment better; but in case of desertions, an entire corps would not be ruined. Regimental offices should also be given to Americans of distinction, for the sake of creating emulation. Such a course might induce many from the provinces to join our army. Indeed, I feel confident that each infantry regiment, now serving in America, would thereby be increased to two battalions in a short time. Thus, most of our recruits could be obtained in America, and our own army strengthened in proportion as that of the Americans were weakened. In pursuing this policy, however, care should be taken to have our northern regiments filled with Americans from the south, and our southern ones with recruits from the north.

It must be added, as a necessary part of the above programme, that the ministry of Great Britain must watch the steps which France takes in regard to America, and must endeavor to prevent her sending reenforcements either for the army or navy. Should this, however, be impossible, then a force in proportion to that sent by France must be sent over at once to preserve the equilibrium of power.

Judging by the knowledge of America I acquired in traveling through it, I believe that a war carried on in the way I have described, for two years, would so weaken the country, increase the war expenses, and make the farmer as well as the merchant so tired of it, that the Americans would surely accept the conditions offered by the crown. In case they acknowledged their dependence on England, everything they asked for could be granted, with the exception that England should keep the forts on the coast and in the interior garrisoned and placed in a better condition of defense. A considerable English fleet would, also, have to be scattered near the different ports on the seaboard.

The above is and can be the only means of keeping this wonderfully growing nation dependent on the king; otherwise, it will outgrow the English nation during the next century.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR LIEUTENANT COLONEL BAUME, ON A SECRET EXPEDITION TO THE CONNECTICUT RIVER.[1]

[*The erasures were made by General Burgoyne.*[2]]

Amendments made by General Burgoyne.

The object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount the Reidesel's dragoons, to complete Peters's corps, and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses and carriages.

The several corps, of which the inclosed is a list, are to be under your command.

The troops must take no tents, and what little baggage is carried by officers must be on their own bat horses.

You are to proceed *by the route* from Batten kill to Arlington, and take post there, *so as to secure the pass from Manchester. You are to remain at Arlington* till the detachment of the provincials, under the command of Captain Sherwood, shall join you from the southward.

You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you take post so as to secure the pass of the mountains on the road from Manchester to Rockingham; hence you will detach the Indians and light troops to the northward, toward Otter

[1] This extract should be read in connection with note 2 on page 261 of vol. I.

[2] The erasures are printed in italics, and the amendments in the opposite column.

creek. On their return, and also receiving intelligence that no enemy is in force *in the neighborhood of Rockingham*, (1) you will proceed by the road over the mountains to Rockingham, where you will take post. This will be the most distant part on the expedition. (2)

You are to remain there *as long as necessary to fulfill the intention of the expedition from thence*, (3) and you are afterwards to descend *by* the *Connecticut* river to Brattlebury, and from that place, by the quickest march, you are to return by the great road to Albany.

During your whole progress, your detachments are to have orders to bring in to you all horses fit to mount the dragoons under your command, or to serve as bat horses to the troops, *they are likewise to bring in* (4) saddles and bridles as can be found. (5)

Your parties are likewise to bring in wagons and other convenient carriages, with as many draft oxen as will be necessary to draw them, and all cattle fit for slaughter (milch cows excepted), which are to be left for the use of the inhabitants. Regular receipts, in the form hereto subjoined, are to be given, in all places where any of the abovementioned articles are taken, to such persons as have remained in their habitations, and otherwise complied with the terms of General Burgoyne's manifesto; but no receipts to be given to such as are known to be acting in the service of the rebels. (6)

(1) *upon the Connecticut river.*

(2) *And must be proceeded upon with caution, as you will have the defile of the mountains behind you, which might make a retreat difficult; you must therefore endeavour to be well informed of the force of the enemy's militia in the neighboring country.*

Should you find it may with prudence be effected.

(3) *while the Indians and light troops are detached up the river.*

(4) *together with as many.*

(5) *The number of horses requisite, besides those necessary for mounting the regiment of dragoons, ought to be* 1300. *If you can bring more for the use of the army, it will be so much the better.*

(6) *As you will have with you*

persons perfectly acquainted with the abilities of the country, it may perhaps be advisable to tax the several districts with the portions of the several articles, and limit the hours for their delivery; and, should you find it necessary to move before such delivery can be made, hostages of the most respectable people should be taken, to secure their following you the ensuing day. All possible means are to be used to prevent plundering.

As it is probable that Captain Sherwood, who is already detached to the southward and will join you at Arlington, will drive in a considerable quantity of cattle and horses to you, you will therefore send in this cattle to the army, with a proper detachment from Peters's corps to cover them, in order to disencumber yourself; but you must always keep the regiments of dragoons compact.

The dragoons themselves must ride, and take care of the horses of the regiment. Those horses which are destined for the use of the army must be tied together by strings of ten each, in order that one man may lead ten horses. You will give the unarmed men of Peters's corps to conduct them, and inhabitants whom you can trust. You must always take your camps in good position; but at the same time where there is pasture; and you must have a chain of sentinels round your cattle and horses when grazing.

Colonel Skeene will be with you as much as possible, in order to assist you with his advice, to help you to distinguish the good subjects from the bad, to procure you the best

intelligence of the enemy, and to choose those people who are to bring me the accounts of your progress and success.

When you find it necessary to halt for a day or two, you must always entrench the camp of the regiment of dragoons, in order never to risk an attack or affront from the enemy.

As you will return with the regiment of dragoons mounted, you must always have a detachment of Captain Fraser's or Peters's corps in front of the column, and the same in the rear, in order to prevent your falling into an ambuscade when you march through the woods.

You will use all possible means to make the country believe that the troops under your command are the advanced corps of the army, and that it is intended to pass the Connecticut on the road to Boston. You will likewise *have it insinuated,* (7) that the main army from Albany is to be joined at Springfield by a corps of troops from Rhode island.

(7) *insinuate,*

You will send off occasionally cattle or carriages, to prevent being too much incumbered; and will give me as frequent intelligence of your situation as possible.

It is highly probable that the corps under Mr. Warner, now supposed to be at Manchester, will retreat before you; but, should they, contrary to expectation, be able to collect in great force, and post themselves advantageously, it is left to your discretion to attack them or not; always bearing in mind, that your corps

is too valuable to let any considerable loss be hazarded on this occasion.

Should any corps be moved from Mr. Arnold's main army, in order to intercept your retreat, you are to take as strong a post as the country will afford, and send the quickest intelligence to me; and you may depend on my making such a movement as shall put the enemy between two fires, or otherwise effectually sustain you.

It is imagined the progress of the whole of this expedition may be effected in about a fortnight; but every movement of it must depend upon your success in obtaining such supply of provisions as will enable you to subsist till your return to the army, in case you can get no more. (8)

All persons acting in committees, or any officers acting under the directions of congress, either civil or military, are to be made prisoners.

(8) *And, should not the army be able to reach Albany before your expedition should be completed, I will find means to send you notice of it, and give your route another direction.*

BATTEN KILL, *August* 12, 1777.

Sir:

I had the honor of acquainting your excellency, by a man sent yesterday evening by Colonel Skeene to head quarters, of the several corps under my command being encamped at Saratoga, as well as of my intention to proceed the next morning at five o'clock; the corps moved at that time, and marched a mile, when I received a letter from Brigadier General Fraser, signifying your excellency's order to post the corps advantageously on Batten kill, till I should receive fresh instructions from your excellency: the corps is now encamped at that place, and wait your excellency's orders. I will not trouble you, sir, with the various reports which spread, as they seem rather to be

founded on the different interests and feelings of the people who occasion them.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,
Your excellency's most obedient
and humble servant,
F. BAUME.

The reenforcement of fifty chasseurs, which your excellency was pleased to order, joined me last night at eleven o'clock.

General Burgoyne.

LIST OF THOSE OFFICERS (WITH THEIR RANK AND DATE OF DEATH) WHO SERVED AS PART OF THE BRUNSWICK AUXILIARIES IN AMERICA FROM 1776-1783.

The Field Officers of the Corps.

1. Major General (commander) Riedesel, Frederick Adolphus, died Jan. 6, 1800, as lieutenant general and commander of Brunswick.

2. Captain (General Quarter Master) Gerlach, Heinrich Jan., died Sept. 29, 1798, as lieutenant colonel and commander of the artillery in Brunswick.

3. Captain O'Connel, Laurentius, died in 1819, as a pensioned lieutenant colonel in Ireland.

4. Lieutenant Cleve, Frederick Christian, died Jan. 6, 1826, as a pensioned major general at Brunswick.

5. Keeper of the military chest, Godeck, Johann Conrad, died Dec. 25th, 1782, in America.

Dragoon Regiment.

1. Lieutenant Colonel Baum, Frederick, wounded in the battle near Bennington, the 16th of August, 1777, and died two days afterward.

2. Major Von Maibom, Just. Christoph, died Feb. 17th, 1804, as a pensioned major at Wolfenbüttel.

3. Captain of horse, Schlagenteuffel III, Carl, dismissed from the service in 1788.

4. Captain of horse, Fricke, Heinrich Christian, died July 3, 1808, as a pensioned major.

5. Captain of horse, Reinking, Carl Frederick, killed on the 16th of August, 1777, in the battle near Bennington.

6. Captain of horse, Schlagenteuffel IV (Adoph), dismissed by request from the army in 1783, as major.

7. Lieutenant Breva, August Wilhelm, died the 16th August, 1790, as captain of the invalid company at Blankenburg.

8. Lieutenant von Sommerlatte, Otto Arnold, became blind in 1783, and placed on the pension list.

9. Lieutenant Reckrodt, Carl Friederick, deserted from Wolfenbüttel the 13th August, 1784.

10. Lieutenant von Bothmer, Friederich Wilhelm Dietrich, dismissed, at his own request, in 1783, with the rank of master of horse.

11. Lieutenant Bornemann, August Friedrich Heinrich, dismissed in 1788; entered the service of Holland, and died in India.

12. Cornet Gräfe, August Ludwig Lucas, remained in America in 1783, by permission; returned in the following year to Germany, and died as governor of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

13. Cornet Stutzer, Johann Balthasar, died the 29th November, 1821, as a pensioned lieutenant colonel in Brunswick.

14. Cornet Schönewald, Johann Friedrich, died the 5th July, 1826, with the same rank.

15. Chaplain Melsheimer, Carl, deserted from his regiment the 11th May, 1779.

16. Auditor Thomas remained, in 1783, by permission in America.

17. Regimental Chaplain Vorbrodt, pensioned in 1783.

Grenadier Battalion.

1. Lieutenant Colonel Breymann, Heinrich Christoph, killed the 7th Oct., 1777, in the battle of Freeman's farm.

2. Captain Bärtling I, Ernst August, died Jan. 1, 1793, as lieutenant colonel and commander of a battalion in Maestricht.

3. Captain Löhneysen, Albrecht Daniel, died May 2, 1820, upon his estate at Nemlingen.

4. Captain Schick, Gottlob Dietrich, killed August 16, 1777, in the battle near Bennington.

5. Captain Hambach, August Wilhelm, dismissed in 1783.

6. Lieutenant Uhlig, Heinrich Wilhelm, advanced to a captaincy and transferred to a land regiment in 1783.

7. Lieutenant Gebhard, Theodore Friederich, died June 3, 1810, in Brunswick as a pensioned lieutenant colonel.

8. Lieutenant Helmecke, August Wilhelm, dismissed in 1783.

9. Lieutenant Trott, Christian Wilhelm; likewise dismissed in 1783.

10. Lieutenant Rudolphi, Otto Heinrich, died June 3, 1810, in Brunswick as a pensioned lieutenant colonel.

11. Lieutenant Wallmoden, Gebhard Thedel, Friedrich, died 2d Sept., 1807, as major, but out of the service.

12. Lieutenant Muzell, Ludwig Casimir, died July 28, 1814, as a pensioned colonel of the cavalry of his serene highness, Prince George of Brunswick, at Glücksburg.

13. Lieutenant Meyer, Johann Andreas, unknown.

14. Lieutenant Meyern, Johann Jacob, died July 3, 1802, as captain and chief of the invalid company at Blankenburg.

15. Lieutenant D'Anniers II, Carl Franz, died in 1777, while a prisoner at Bennington.

16. Lieutenant Winterschmidt, Gottfried Jul, deserted from his battalion in 1779.

17. Lieutenant Balke, Johann Casper, died in America in 1777.

18. Regimental Chaplain Henkel, died in America in 1778.

Prince Friedrich's Regiment.

1. Lieutenant Colonel Prätorius, Christian Julius, died April 10, 1794, as a pensioned lieutenant colonel at Holzminden.

2. Major Hille, Freidrich Wilhelm, died April 29, 1805, as a major general, and named commandant of Wolfenbüttel near Brunswick.

3. Captain Dietrich, Adolph Lorenz, died March 10, 1794, as lieutenant colonel at Wolfenbüttel.

4. Captain Tunderfeld, Carl August Heinrich, died June 4, 1802, as chamberlain of Brunswick.

5. Captain Sander, Jacob Christian, died March 14, 1799, as lieutenant colonel at Wolfenbuttel.

6. Captain Rosenberg, Friedrich Albrecht, dismissed at his own request, in 1788, as major.

7. Captain Zielberg, George Ernst, died out of service at Horter, Feb. 23, 1797, as captain.

8. Lieutenant Schröder, Ernst Christian, pensioned in 1783, and died the same year.

9. Lieutenant Knesebeck, Friedrich, dismissed in 1783.

10. Lieutenant Volkmar, Friedrich Wilhelm, dismissed in 1783.

11. Lieutenant Harz, Johann Friedrich, succeeded in 1787, to the post of secretary of the monastic archives.

12. Lieutenant Wolgart I, Johann Friedrich, died Oct. 2, 1825, as a pensioned lieutenant colonel at Brunswick.

13. Lieutenant Reitzenstein, Gottlieb Christian, remained by permission, in 1783, in America.

14. Lieutenant Burghoff, Johann Friedrich Heinrich, dismissed in 1780, in America, and died the same year.

15. Lieutenant du Roi, August Wilhelm, after serving the house of Brunswick faithfully for over fifty years, he drowned himself in a fit of melancholy, March 23, 1814. At the time of his death he was commissary general, and lieutenant colonel on the general staff.

16. Lieutenant Wiesener, Christian Friedrich, discharged in 1783.

17. Lieutenant von König, Edmund Victor, remained, in 1783, by permission in America.

18. Ensign Langerjahn, Siegfried Heinrich, remained, in 1783, by permission in America.

19. Ensign Adelsheim, Carl Friedrich Christian, deserted from his regiment in 1780.

20. Ensign Sternberg, Johann Christian, died Nov. 16, 1799, as secretary of supplies, at Wolfenbüttel.

21. Ensign Reinerding, Carl Wilhelm, died March 14, 1815, as head chamberlain in the service at Blankenburg.

22. Ensign Kolte, Friedrich, remained by permission, in America in 1783.

23. Chaplain Fügerer, Friedrich August, dismissed in Oct., 1779.

24. Chaplain Schrader, Friedrich Wilhelm Conrad, sent in April, 1779, to America with the transport recruits; died Dec. 19, 1792, as pastor at Beierstedt.

25. Auditor Wolpers, Paul Gottfried Franz, died May 11, 1802, as chancery clerk at Wolfenbüttel.

26. Regimental Chaplain Bernt, Johann August, died Feb. 27, 1807, as city surgeon at Holzminden.

Regiment Rhetz.

1. Lieutenant Colonel Ehrenkrock, Johann Gustavus, died March 22, 1783, at Three Rivers in Canada.[1]

2. Major Lucke, Balthasar Bogislaus, died as a pensioned major.

3. Captain Schlagenteuffel I, Ludewig, placed on the pension list in 1783, and died the same year at Calvörde.

4. Captain Alers, Conrad Anton, died Oct. 17, 1810 as major (out of the service), at Brunswick.

[1] Lieutenant Papet II, referring to the death of Ehrenkrock, writes in his diary, as follows: "Lieutenant Von Ehrenkrock died at Three Rivers on the 22 of March, 1783, at eight in the morning, and was buried at one o'clock at noon of the 27th of the month, in the usual burial place of the garrison, with military pomp, Chaplain Kohle delivering an excellent funeral oration. The corpse was exposed on a bed of state on the 25th and 26th; and so well did it look that the Canadians firmly believed that it was painted."

5. Captain Arend, George Philipp, died Dec. 10, 1803, as lieutenant colonel (though out of the service), and high bailiff at Kl. Biewende.

6. Captain Cleve, Heinrich Urban, died Jan. 2, 1808, as lieutenant colonel (out of the service), at Salzgitter.

7. Captain Fredersdorff, Wilhelm Ludwig, wounded Oct. 7, 1777, in the battle of Freeman's farm, and died the year following in the city of Albany.

8. Lieutenant Bodemeyer, George, died in 1793, at Maestricht, as captain.

9. Lieutenant Papet II, Friedrich Julius, died April 5, 1793, as captain, at Maestricht.

10. Lieutenant Hessler, Curt, discharged in 1783, with the rank of captain.

11. Lieutenant Meyer, Friedrich Leopold Engelhard, died Dec. 6, 1802, as inspector of excise at Seefen.

12. Lieutenant Bielstein, Thedel Wilhelm, remained by permission in America in 1783.

13. Lieutenant Conradi, Carl Friedrich, took his discharge in 1783, and went back to America.

14. Lieutenant Dobeneck, Hans Philipp Heinrich, died in 1796, as captain of a land regiment at Holzminden.

15. Lieutenant Petersen, Carl Ludwig, died May 7, 1814, as a civil magistrate.

16. Lieutenant Modrach, Christian Heinrich, died Aug. 18, 1803, as captain of a land regiment at Bevern.

17. Lieutenant Unger I, Johann Ludwig, died May 2, 1805, as counsellor of mines at Salzliebenhalle.

18. Lieutenant Feichel, Friedrich Wilhelm, died May 29, 1794, at Brunswick, as captain.

19. Ensign Bandel, Friedrich, deserted from his regiment in 1779.

20. Ensign Erich, Bernhard, received his discharge in 1783.

21. Ensign Bode, Johann Friedrich, died Sept. 19, 1783, at Stade, while on his return from America.

22. Ensign Gödecke, Johann Heinrich, transferred to a regiment of the line in 1788.

23. Chaplain Tögel, Christian Timotheus, died Oct. 1, 1797, as pastor at Great Twülpstedt.

24. Auditor Schmidt, transferred in 1783 to the regiment Riedesel.

25. Regimental Chaplain Schrader, Johann Friedrich, died Dec. 16, 1804, at Brunswick.

Regiment Riedesel.

1. Lieutenant Colonel Speth, Ernst Ludewig Wilhelm, died Oct. 27, 1800, as major general and commandant at Wolfenbüttel.

2. Major Mengen, Otto Carl Anton, died May 18, 1797, as lieutenant colonel (out of service), at Lüneburg.

3. Captain Pöllnitz, Julius Ludwig August, died March 29, 1805, as major general and commandant at Wolfenbüttel.

4. Captain Morgenstern, Carl Friedrich, received his discharge as major in 17—.

5. Captain Bartling II, Carl Friedrich, died in 1783, at Munster while on his return journey to Brunswick.

6. Captain Harbord, Gottlieb Benjamin, died as a pensioned captain in ——.

7. Captain Girsewald, Ernst Heinrich Wilhelm, died Jan. 16, 1818, in time of peace as a major general at Brunswick.

8. Lieutenant Hoyer, Wilhelm, died in 1782, in America.

9. Lieutenant Morgenstern, Johann Carl, died Dec. 8, 1787, at Brunswick as captain.

10. Lieutenant Reinking, Friedrich Carl, died as captain of a regiment of the line.

11. Lieutenant Burgdorff, Ludwig Traugott, dismissed in 1786.

12. Lieutenant Wolgart II, August Theodore Gottfried, died March 4, 1821, as a pensioned major at Brunswick.

13. Lieutenant Freyenhagen, Heinrich Julius, died in 1777, in America.

14. Lieutenant Pincier, Christian Theodore, received his discharge in 1784, and returned to America.

15. Lieutenant Cramm, Heinrich Wilhelm Gottfried, died Feb. 3, 1794, at Mastricht.

16. Lieutenant Meyern, Ludwig Gottlieb, died 1781, in America.

17. Ensign Brander, Ernst Christian Heinrich, dismissed in 1786.

18. Ensign Unverzagt, Ludwig, died in 1776, in America.

19. Ensign Maibom, Carl Christoph, died April 26, 1794, upon his return journey from Mästricht to Holzminden.

20. Ensign Häberlin, Raimund Gottlieb, died Oct. 6, 1796, at Helmstedt as captain.

21. Ensign Andree, Carl Conrad, died as a lieutenant of a regiment of the line in ——.

22. Ensign Denecke, Friedrich Ludwig, unknown.[1]

23. Ensign Forstner, Heinrich Friedrich, dismissed in 1794.

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[1] Dr. O'Callaghan, in *Burgoyne's Orderly Book*, states that this officer was, in 1778, residing at Westminster.— *Translator.*

24. Chaplain Milius, Johann August, died Jan. 17, 1819, as pastor at Salder.

25. General Field Auditor Zinken, Carl Friedrich Wilhelm, died in the night of August 3, 1806, as aulic counsellor and mayor of Seefen.

26. Regimental Chaplain Pralle, died as land surgeon at Jerrheim.

Regiment Specht.

1. Colonel Specht, Johann Friedrich, died June 24, 1787, at Brunswick as a pensioned colonel.

2. Major Ehrenkrock, Carl Friedrich, died July 17, 1797, as a pensioned major in Brunswick.

3. Captain Plessen, Leopold Franz Friedrich Balthasar, died Feb. 6, 1808, as captain (out of the service), at Gandersheim.

4. Captain Lutzow, August Conrad, died Nov. 26, 1799, at Brunswick as colonel.

5. Captain Dahlstirna, Bernhard Rich., wounded on the 7th Oct., 1777, at the battle of Freeman's farm, and died the following year in the city of Albany.

6. Captain von Schlagenteuffel II, George, died August 15, 1818, as high bailiff at Schöppenstedt.

7. Captain Yäger, Heinrich, died in 1782, in America.

8. Lieutenant Meyer, Johann Heinrich, died Oct. 23, 1800, as post master of Helmstedt.

9. Lieutenant Hertel, Daniel Arnold, died August 1, 1799, as a pensioned lieutenant at Königslutte.

10. Lieutenant Papet I, August Wilhelm, died July 25, 1808, at Brunswick as colonel.

11. Lieutenant Dove, Heinrich Anton David, died in 1780, in America.

12. Lieutenant Milkau, Christian Friedrich, discharged in 1783.

13. Lieutenant Oldekopf, Friedrich Ernst, created secretary in the post office in 1784, and died while holding that position.

14. Lieutenant Anniers I, Heinrich Daniel, discharged in 1783.

15. Lieutenant Kellner, Johann Friedrich Julius, died November 30, 1808, as commissioner of a monastery at Brunswick.

16. Lieutenant Roi II, Anton Adolph Heinrich, died August 19, 1823, at Brunswick, as a pensioned colonel.

17. Lieutenant Unger II, Friedrich Bodo, died Nov. 11, 1819, as a magistrate of Salzgitter.

18. Ensign Bernewitz, Johann Heinrich Carl, died Dec. 13, 1821, as lieutenant general and commandant of Brunswick.

19. Ensign Redeken, Friedrich, died in 1777, in America.

20. Ensign Fromme, Johann Edmund, died May 8, 1822, at Wolfenbüttel, as a pensioned major.

21. Ensign Ulmenstein, Samuel Jacob Anton, died July 9, 1793, a pensioned lieutenant.

22. Ensign Grimpe, died as collector of the public gates of Brunswick.

23. Chaplain Kohle, unknown.

24. Chaplain Münchhoff, unknown.

25. Auditor Bähr, unknown.

26. Regimental Chaplain Bause, Johann Carl, died Dec. 15, 1814, at Brunswick, as general field surgeon, out of service.

Yäger Battalion, known also as the Battalion Barner.

1. Major Barner, Ferdinand Albrecht, died Oct. 2, 1797, as a pensioned colonel.

2. Captain Thomä, George Ludewig, died Jan. 10, 1800, at Wolfenbüttel, as captain, out of service.

3. Captain Geyso, Carl, discharged in 1783, as major.

4. Captain Dommes, August Friedrich, died in the night of Jan. 5, 1802, as chief commissary at Blankenburg.

5. Captain Schottelius, Maximilian Christoph Ludwig, died Dec. 3, 1807, as post master at Holzminden.

6. Captain Gleissenberg, Gottlief Joachim, died Feb. 20, 1801, as colonel and commandant at Wolfenbüttel.

7. Lieutenant Hannemann, Johann Caspar, died as an officer of the forest.[1]

8. Lieutenant Cruse, Philipp Sigesmund, died as captain in the line.

9. Lieutenant Kotte, Johann Gottfried, died in 1776, at Quebec.

10. Lieutenant Rabe, Albrecht Christian, died Oct. 18, 1806, as a lieutenant at Königslutter, out of service.

11. Lieutenant Gladen, Johann Gottlieb, died Dec. 14, 1827, at Wolfenbüttel as a pensioned major.

12. Lieutenant Mühlenfeldt, Carl Anton Ludwig, killed Aug. 16, 1777, in the engagement near Bennington.

13. Lieutenant Pflüger, Johann Friedrich, died in 1777, in America.

14. Lieutenant Meyer, Andreas, died Dec. 7, 1795, at the ducal castle at Salzdahlum.

15. Lieutenant Fricke, George Friedrich Gebhard, died Nov. 19, 1807, as postmaster at Goslar.

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[1] I. e., a ranger.— *Translator.*

16. Lieutenant Bode, Johann Andreas, killed the 7th Oct., 1777, in the battle of Freeman's farm.

17. Lieutenant Rohr, Caspar Friedrich, discharged in 1783.

18. Ensign Rhenius, Wilhelm Lucas, died Sept. 30, 1783, at Drangstedt, on his return home from America.

19. Ensign Specht, Johann Julius Anton, remained by permission in America, in 1783.

20. Ensign Begert, Johann, drowned in 1777, in America.

21. Ensign Hagemann, George Leopold, killed August 16, 1777, in the engagement near Bennington.

22. Ensign Count von Rantzau, Ernst August, drowned in the Schoolkil, while in captivtiy.

23. Regimental Chaplain Kunze, died as a pensioner.

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NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR, MAY 23, 1868.

The reader will recall the circumstance of Burgoyne directing Riedesel (while the latter was at Fort Edward on his way to join the commander in chief) to bury three large bateaux. A day or two since I found the sequel of this order in a very interesting narrative written by the late Jonathan Eastman of Concord, N. H., in regard to Burgoyne's campaign. This narrative is given at length in the *Memoir of General Stark*, published by Luther Robyal, at Concord, N. H., in 1831. Eastman says:

"Just below Fort Edward, on the margin of a small brook falling into the Hudson, the Americans discovered three graves neatly turfed, having at the head, boards inscribed with the names of three British officers. In walking over them they sounded hollow, and upon digging, the soldiers discovered three fine bateaux, each capable of containing fifty men. They were well covered with boards, and were intended by some of Burgoyne's party to aid a retreat."

It will be seen, however, by referring to the letter of Burgoyne to Riedesel (in the appendix to vol. I), that Mr. Eastman is mistaken in supposing that the bateaux were designed to facilitate Burgoyne's retreat should that become necessary. The object of burying the boats (read Burgoyne's letter), was to aid St. Leger in crossing the Hudson in case of the failure of his expedition against Fort Stanwix.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

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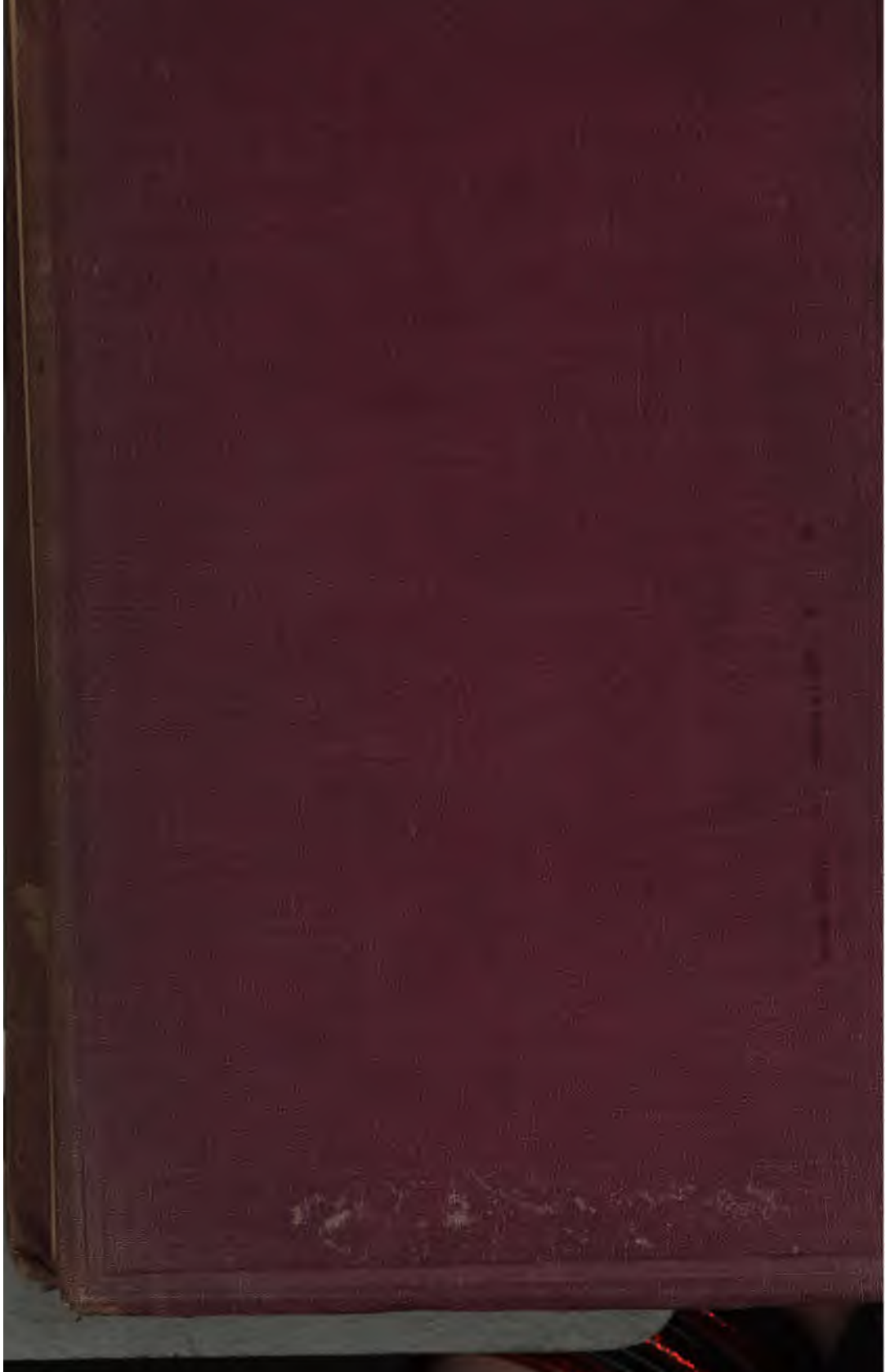
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